THE PRESS AND POETRY OF MODERN PERSIA

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Superstitious veneration of a *Mullā*

From *Mulla Nasr ud-Din*, No. 36, Oct. 7, 1907, (Caucasian Turkish illustrated comic weekly, published at Tiflis.)

PRESS AND POETRY
OF
MODERN PERSIA

PARTLY BASED ON THE MANUSCRIPT WORK
OF
ÍRZÁ MUḤAMMAD 'ALÍ KHÁN "TARBIYAT"
OF TABRÍZ

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At and تیپهای مخصوص از قارئین ایرانی

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ERRATUM

On p 294, l 20, second half, read —

وزیرِ محتشم عنوان پرستد،

THE TRANSLATOR'S PREFACE

THIS book treats of two different though kindred subjects, the Persian Press, more particularly Persian Journalism, and the political and patriotic poetry of Modern Persia, in other words, with two aspects of Persian literary activity in recent years, especially since the Proclamation of the Constitution in 1906. It falls, therefore, into two distinct parts, of the first of which I am the translator, and of the second the compiler. Of each of these two parts something must now be said.

Part I (pp. 1–166) contains as complete a list of Persian newspapers, with particulars concerning each, as it has been possible to compile, preceded by a Preface and Introduction (pp. 1–6 and 7–26), and followed by a brief essay on some of the more important products of the Persian Press other than newspapers, especially such as conduced, directly or indirectly, to the "Awakening of Persia" (pp. 154–166). The whole of this portion is translated from a Persian treatise, at present unpublished, entitled, for reasons explained by the Author, Mírzá Muḥammad 'Alí Khán "Tarbiyat," at p. 5 of his Preface, "A Page from the History of the products of the Persian Press[1]"; and all that I have done besides translating it is to add a few explanatory foot-notes (the majority of which, however, are the Author's) and to append to the description of each newspaper in smaller type some additional particulars concerning its size, price, etc., derived from the inspection of copies in my own possession, of which, thanks to the generosity of Mr H. L. Rabino, of whom I shall shortly speak, I have a fairly extensive collection. It is important that the reader should bear in mind that these

paragraphs in smaller type are added by myself to the original articles, in order that he may not be puzzled by occasional discrepancies which appear between them and the paragraphs in larger type which precede them; for on the one hand I have not thought it right to modify (save in a few cases of evident inadvertence) the sense of the Author's statements, and on the other I have indicated, whenever reference to a copy of the paper in question was possible, the result of my own observations, inasmuch as the Author wrote in exile, for the most part from memory and scanty notes, and, as he has explained in his Preface (pp. 1–3), was unable to refer to the rich material which he had collected for the compilation of this work, and which is now, unhappily, lost beyond recall

The Author's work, as he has explained in his Preface, was prior in conception, though subsequent in execution, to that of Mr H L Rabino, who was, until about two years ago, British Vice-Consul at Rasht in Persia, and is now at Saffi in Morocco. Mr Rabino, whom I have never had the pleasure of meeting, is one of those consular officers who take delight in devoting the time which they can spare from their official duties to the careful study of the language, history, literature, antiquities, customs and resources of the country in which they find themselves, and it is a matter of profound regret rather than of surprise that one so well acquainted with and so sympathetic to the Persians, and so well instructed in all that concerns them and their country, should have been removed thence to a distant and (I imagine) uncongenial post At all events he made the best use of his time in Rasht, which has in many ways been fruitful of valuable results, especially in the domains of history, geography and geology, and not least in this hitherto almost unexplored field of Persian Journalism In 1911 he published at Rasht what is, so far as I know, the first systematic treatise on this subject, a Persian pamphlet of 29 large pages (measuring 35 × 22·5 centimetres), printed at the *'Urwatu'l-Wuthqa* Press, of which the full title, both in Persian and English, and some description are given at pp 2–3 of the Author's Preface and in the foot-notes thereto. In a short Preface of two pages he sketches the history of Persian Journalism from its beginnings (in or about [illegible]) down to

the time of writing (August 29, 1911) This Preface is followed (pp. 6–25) by a list of 243 papers, arranged alphabetically, published in Persian or in Persia[1] Each page is divided into ten columns, of which the first contains the ordinal number of the paper in the list, the second the title of the paper, the third the place of publication, the fourth the intervals of publication (daily, weekly, fortnightly, monthly, etc), the fifth the method of production (print, lithography, or "jelly-graphy"), the sixth the date of inception, the seventh the date of conclusion, the eighth the political tendency, the ninth the name of the proprietor or editor, and the tenth and last any additional observations. Of the papers enumerated Nos 1–226 are Persian, Turkish or Arabic, Nos. 227–230 French, and Nos 231–236 Armenian, while Nos 237–243 are additional Persian papers omitted in their proper place Blank spaces are left, numbered 244–269, for additional entries, while the last two pages (28–29) contain a list of *errata*'

A French translation of Mr Rabino's Persian pamphlet by M. L. Buvat appeared in the *Revue du Monde Musulman* for 1913 (pp 287–315) It was made, I believe, without Mr Rabino's knowledge or concurrence, and, by reason of mistranslations and omissions, is regarded by him as not wholly satisfactory. I possess a copy of these pages with numerous annotations and corrections in Mr Rabino's hand One distinctive merit, however, it possesses, for foot-notes are added which give "*les principales indications bibliographiques, les comptes rendus et les Traductions* in extenso *donnés par la* Revue *des journaux persans*"

In English, so far as I know, little has hitherto appeared on the Persian Press, except a small brochure of my own, originally delivered as a lecture to and afterwards published by the Persia Society under the title of *the Persian Press and Persian Journalism*[2], which was practically a very brief *résumé* of this present work, and, like it, owes whatever value it possesses to

[1] As in the present treatise, mention is made of all Persian newspapers, whether published in Persia or abroad, and of all papers, whether in Persian or in some other language (Armenian, Syriac, Turkish, French, etc), published in Persia. This is what is meant in the title of this work by *Iráni* (i.e. published in the Persian Kingdom) and *Fársí* (published in the Persian language).

[2] This lecture was delivered on May 23, 1913, and was afterwards published for the Society by John Hogg, 13, Paternoster Row, London, at the price of one shilling. [illegible] pages.

the work of Mr Rabino and Mírzá Muhammad 'Alí Khán "Tarbiyat." The *Times*, which, in pursuance of the reactionary and obscurantist policy which generally characterizes its views on Eastern politics, made some disparaging remarks on the "mischievous and dangerous" character of "the free Press of Persia" and "other Oriental lands" in its issue of July 2, 1908, published a short article on the subject on October 29, 1909[1], while the *Standard* of November 15, 1909, contained a good and sympathetic account of Sayyid Hasan, the editor of the daily Tihrán *Hablu'l-Matín*, who had recently been imprisoned on the charge of speaking disrespectfully of the religion of Islám. Towards the end of May, 1910, the English daily press also contained some account of the protests evoked amongst Persian journalists by the suppression of the *Sharq*, and the violent scenes to which this high-handed measure gave rise in the National Assembly The *Times* of June 28, 1910, again, contained some account of the printers' strike at Tihrán The *Manchester Guardian* of September 28, 1910, contained an article on "Persian newspapers and their work." Lastly, the almost complete suppression of the Press on December 26, 1911, two days after the forcible closure of the National Assembly, was chronicled in several English papers A certain amount of information about Persian newspapers, together with several translations of articles from some of them, is also contained in my *History of the Persian Revolution*, published in October, 1910

As one would expect, the fortunes of the Press in Persia follow very closely those of the Constitutional Movement Before the granting of the Constitution by Muzaffaru'd-Dín Sháh in August, 1906, but few newspapers were published in Persia, and these were politically of no account, and only valuable, when they had any value at all, from the literary

[1] The disparaging article appeared ten days after the now deposed Sháh, Muhammad 'Alí, had succeeded, with the aid of Colonel Liakhoff and the other Russian officers in his service, in destroying the First National Assembly, and when his cause appeared to have triumphed The second article, which, though far from sympathetic, at least takes the Persian Press more or less seriously and gives a few more or less accurate facts about it, was written shortly after the Nationalist triumph and the deposition of the ex-Sháh. No one has ever accused Printing House Square of being [illegible]"



The Cemetery of deceased Newspapers

point of view, on account of the poems and critical articles which they occasionally contained. In the latter part of 1906 several important newspapers, printed with moveable types, began to appear, such as the *Majlis* (on November 25, 1906) and the *Nidá-yi-Waṭan* a month later. During the following year (1907) many more appeared, and the number continued to increase until the *Coup d'État* of June 23, 1908, which marked the beginning of the period known to the Persians as "the Minor Despotism" or "Lesser Autocracy" (*Istibdád-i-Ṣaghír*), when the free Press was practically destroyed for the time being. As the Constitutional forces began to rally and make headway in Gílán and Iṣfahán, the Press also began to revive in these localities, until, on the triumphant entry of the victorious Nationalists into Tihrán and the deposition of Muhammad 'Alí in July, 1909, it speedily attained a luxuriance even greater than during the "First Constitutional Period," and (save for a brief period in August, 1910, after the fighting which attended the disarmament of the *fidá'ís* in Tihrán, when for some days the *Istiqlál-i-Írán* was the only paper appearing in the capital) continued in this flourishing condition until the forcible closure of the Second National Assembly and the violent aggressions of Russia during the last days of 1911. Since that time it has again been in abeyance: the only notable papers published in Tihrán since the beginning of 1912 are, so far as I know, the official or semi-official *Áftáb* ("Sun"), and the rather more independent *Írán-i-Kunúní* ("Present Persia")[1], while at Tabríz, Rasht and Mashhad Russian brutality has effectually extinguished not only the Press, but every other manifestation of Liberalism and national life. Two infamous reactionary and anti-patriotic papers, the *Fikr* ("Thought") and the *Tawfíq* ("Divine Favour"), were successively promoted and subsidized by the Russians in Tabríz, but to describe them as worthless would be to pay them too high a compliment.

Of the Persian newspapers published outside Persia, which are naturally much more independent of political events in that

[1] The *Barq* ("Lightning") has since reappeared, No. 1 "of the Fifth Year" being dated October 20, 1913. Since November 27, 1913, it has changed its name [illegible].

country than those published within its borders, the most important have been or are the *Akhtar* ("Star"), printed at Constantinople (1875–1895), the *Qánún* (1889–1890) in London, the *Hablu'l-Matín* (Calcutta) founded in 1893 and still continuing, the *Thurayyá* (1898–9) and *Parwarish* (1900), printed in Cairo, the *Hikmat* and *Chihra-numá*, founded in Egypt in 1892–3 and 1904–5 respectively, and still continuing, and the *Shams* ("Sun") of Constantinople, founded in 1909 and still continuing

During the greater part of the Constitutional Period I regularly received a certain number of the principal papers, such as the *Majlis*, *Nida-yi-Watan*, *Tamaddun*, *Sur-i-Isráfíl*, *Musawát*, *Hablu'l-Matín* and *Subh-i-Sádiq* during the First Constitutional Period, and the *Írán-i-Naw*, *Barq*, *Sharq*, *'Asr*, *Waqt*, etc during the Second I also inherited a number of papers left by Shaykh Hasan of Tabríz, formerly teacher of Persian in this University, on his return to Persia Yet my collection would have been very imperfect had it not been for the extraordinary generosity of Mr H L Rabino, who, on his transference from Rasht to Morocco, presented me with the whole of his extensive and valuable collection, which contained complete or almost complete sets of several papers, especially of those published in Rasht, such as the *Nasím-i-Shimál*, *Kinkásh*, *Sadá-yi-Rasht*, *Gílan* and *Khayru'l-Kalám*, and some specimens at least of nearly all the papers mentioned in his pamphlet Thanks to this act of generosity I believe that I possess the most complete and extensive collection of Persian newspapers which exists outside Persia, and this has been of enormous help to me in the preparation of the present work

One notable feature of the modern Persian Press is the large amount of excellent verse which is to be found in it, especially in the Rasht papers enumerated at the end of the preceding paragraph, in the *Bahar* of Mashhad, and in the *Sur-i-Isráfíl*, *Íran-i-Naw* and other organs of the Tihrán Press Much of this verse is "topical," referring to the stirring events of the recent Revolution and the principal *dramatis personæ*, or patriotic, inciting the youth of Persia to deeds of heroism and self-sacrifice, or satirical It is, in my opinion, of great interest

both from the historical and the literary points of view, and is often equally remarkable for its merit and its originality. As it has hitherto remained almost unnoticed in Europe, I have thought it desirable to include in this volume a selection of these recent patriotic and political poems, chosen more or less at random out of a great number contained in the bound volumes of newspapers in my possession, or supplied to me by some of my Persian friends and correspondents, to whom I here desire to tender my sincere thanks.

Part II of this book (pp. 167-308), which is devoted to these poems, is, therefore, an addition made by myself to the original book of which the translation constitutes Part I. Certain European students of Persian whose researches stop short at the period which, four hundred years ago, produced Jámí, the most celebrated of the later "classical" poets, and his contemporary Dawlatsháh, the most widely-read and one of the least trustworthy of their biographers, constantly assert that there is no modern Persian poetry worth reading, a statement which I can only account for by supposing that they have not taken the trouble to look for it or read it but which is nevertheless widely credited. In a lecture on *the Literature of Persia* which I delivered before the Persia Society on April 26, 1912[1], I spoke briefly of this modern poetry, and gave some specimens of it, and after the lecture several of those present expressed surprise at learning that there was any modern poetry to speak of. This determined me to devote some attention to the refutation of a pernicious error chiefly attributable to the rarity of intimate relations between the literary worlds of Europe and Asia, but fostered and encouraged to some extent by those who desire for political reasons to represent such Asiatic peoples as the Persians as entirely decadent and degenerate, whereas in fact they have during the last eight years shown a vitality which, under happier circumstances, had it been unimpeded by malignant external forces entirely beyond the control of the Persian people, would, I am firmly convinced, have ultimately effected the moral and material regeneration of the country.

[1] Published for the Society by John Hogg 13, Paternoster Row, London, E.C., price one shilling.

country than those published within its borders, the most important have been or are the *Akhtar* ("Star"), printed at Constantinople (1875–1895), the *Qánún* (1889–1890) in London, the *Hablu'l-Matín* (Calcutta) founded in 1893 and still continuing, the *Thurayyá* (1898–9) and *Parwarish* (1900), printed in Cairo, the *Hikmat* and *Chihra-numá*, founded in Egypt in 1892–3 and 1904–5 respectively, and still continuing, and the *Shams* ("Sun") of Constantinople, founded in 1909 and still continuing

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Of this renewed vitality the modern Press and Poetry are a reflection and manifestation, and I venture to think that neither the originality nor the merit of the literary products of the Persian Revolution, whether in prose or verse, will be denied by any competent and unprejudiced observer True literature is the mirror of contemporary thought and sentiment, and the alternating phases of hope and despair of the Persians during the last eight years (1905–1913) are well reflected in the ephemeral literature of that period It is for this reason that I have, as far as possible, arranged the poetical selections which conclude this volume in chronological order, and have chosen specimens representative of all the principal types, ranging from the classical *musammat*, *mustazad* and *mathnawí* to the popular ballad (*tasníf*) often abounding in slang and dialect

At this point it may not be out of place to insert a few particulars concerning some half-dozen contemporary Persian poets, most of whom are represented in Part II of this book, which were supplied to me in January, 1913, by Mírzá Husayn Kázimzáda, to whose help the latter portion of this book owes much

1 *Bahár Maliku'sh-Shu'ará* ("the King of Poets")

"He is a native of Mashhad, and is one of the attendants of the Shrine of the Imám Rizá He is about thirty-five years of age During the latter period of the Constitution he founded the newspaper *Bahár* ('Spring') at Mashhad In No 18 of the Calcutta *Hablu'l-Matín* of the present year was inserted a poem of his entitled 'A critical offering to His Excellency Sir Edward Grey[1]'

2 *'Arif of Qazwín*

"He is a man of dervish-like disposition, and often sings his poems to the accompaniment of music at public and patriotic meetings, where he is warmly applauded by all. On the occasion of a representation given in Tihrán a month before[2] the heart-rending catastrophe of Tabríz by the Literary Circle of the Democratic Party under the title of 'the National Festival to commemorate the Victory of the supporters of the Constitution

[1] This poem is No. 34 of the collection at the end of this volume, and will be found, with a versified translation, at pp 253–257 *infra*.

[2] *i.e.* about the end of November, 1911

and the defeat of Muhammad 'Alí,' 'Árif undertook the *rôle* of minstrel, and, in a most charming and affecting manner, sung the poem which he had composed for this occasion, and which begins as follows

پیام دوشم ز پیر میفروش آمد، بنوش باده که یک ملّتی بهوش آمد،
هزار پرده ز ایران درید استبداد، هزار شکر که مشروطه پرده‌پوش آمد،

'Last night a message reached me from the old Wine-seller
'Drink wine, for a whole Nation has come to its senses!
'Despotism tore away from Persia a thousand veils
'A thousand thanks that the Constitution has come to replace these veils[1]!'

"Most of 'Árif's poems, which consist of *ghazals* (odes), have been printed[2], and are sung in public and private assemblies. In consequence of a verse[3] offensive to the Regent he was imprisoned with other Democrats early in 1913, but shortly afterwards escaped to Isfahán

3 *Mírzá Murtazá 'Farhang'*

"He is a young man about twenty-eight years of age, who founded the newspaper *Kháwaristán* ('the Eastern Land') in Tihrán during the first Period of the Constitution During the second Period he was Chief of Police, first at Samnán and afterwards at Qum. He is at present studying in Paris.

4 *Sayyid Ashraf of Gílán*

"He is about forty years of age During the Second Period of the Constitution he founded the paper *Nasím-i-Shimál* ('Breeze of the North') at Rasht[4] After the tragic occurrences

[1] "To tear away veils" here means to expose the nakedness or defects, and "to replace the veils" to restore self-respect

[2] I possess a printed pamphlet of 13 pp. containing six of these poems, arranged for the use of singers It is dated the 26th of Shawwál, A.H. 1329 (= Oct 20, 1911), and is described as "offered to the Literary Society in memory of the glorious Festival of the Victors," *i e* the Nationalists who captured Tihrán in July, 1909.

[3] This is the verse in question —

آن کسی را که درین ملک سلیمان کردند ، ملّت امروز یقین کرد که او اهرمن است

[4] See No. 334 (pp. 148–9 *supra*), from which it will be seen that this paper first appeared on Sept. 10, 1907, nine months before the destruction of the First National Assembly, and therefore during the First Period of the Constitution.

which took place there [in December, 1911, and January, 1912] he was compelled to leave that city, and his printing-press was destroyed [by the Russians] The poems which he wrote criticizing the *Mullás* are much appreciated

5. *Púr-i-Dáwúd*

"He is a young man about twenty-five years of age He studied French in Beyrout (Syria) and is now studying Law in Paris, where he has helped to found, and actively supports, the 'Literary and Scientific Society of the Persians in Paris' He is especially skilful in the employment [in his poems] of old Persian words

6 *Ja'far-i-Khámna'í*

"He learned French surreptitiously in Tabríz, his father, a fanatical and old-fashioned merchant, having forbidden him to study foreign languages, or to write poetry, for which he shewed a natural aptitude Hence his poems are, as a rule, unsigned"

Some twenty poems accompanied these brief biographies, of which the best are included in Part II (pp 260–299) Other notable contemporary poets, of whose work I have not been able to give specimens here, are Malik-i-Sásání, Shúrída and Badí'u'z-Zamán of Shíráz, Adíb of Níshápúr, Husámu'l-Islám "Dánish," Ahmad Suhaylí of Tabríz (hanged by the Russians in January 1912), Husayn Khán Dánish, etc

It seems natural at this point, for the sake of comparison, to say a few words about modern Arabic and Turkish patriotic poetry

The best modern Arabic verse with which I am acquainted has been produced in Egypt Of contemporary poets in that country Shawqí Bey and Háfiz Ibráhím are two of the most famous The former is essentially a Court poet, who writes graceful but insincere verses in praise of the Khedive or in description of State Balls and other Court functions. Háfiz Ibráhím is a much more sincere and therefore effective poet, and his verses deal with a much wider range of subjects. Thus, to

take at random a few of the poems contained in the second part of his *Díwán* (published at Cairo in 1907) we find two in praise of the Japanese, another addressed to the Empress Eugenie, another appealing for greater recognition of the Arabic language, another in praise of Victor Hugo, another on the victims of a fire at Mít Ghamr, another on the dearness of food, a threnody (*marthiya*) on the late Muftí of Egypt, Shaykh Muhammad 'Abduh, another threnody on Mahmúd Sámí Pasha al-Bárúdí, another addressed to the late King Edward the Seventh on the occasion of his Coronation, etc The two finest of his poems, however, were called forth by the lamentable tragedy of Denshawi (or Deneshwáy) in the summer of 1906, of which, both on account of the celebrity which it attained, and of the painful and humiliating reflections which it evokes, I shall say nothing more in this place[1] The first of these two poems (pp 44–47 of the edition above mentioned) begins

أيّها القائمون بالأمر فينا، هل نسيتم ولاءنا و الودادا،

The second (pp 102–104), which is the finer of the two, is addressed to Lord Cromer on his return to Egypt in the autumn of the same year, and begins

قَصْرَ الدوبارة هل أتاك حديثنا، فالشّرقُ ريع له و ضجَّ المغربُ،
أهلاً بساكنك الكريم و مرحبًا، بعد التّحيّة إنّى أتعتّبُ،

A line or two further on the poet finely says, addressing Lord Cromer

علّمتنا معنى الحياة فما لنا، لا نشرئبّ لها و ما لك تغضبُ،
أنقمتَ منّا أن نحسّ و إنّما، هذا الّذى تدعو إليه و تدأبُ،

"*Thou didst teach us the meaning of Life, and why should we not aspire to it, and wherefore shouldst thou be angry?*
"*Art thou wrath with us because we have feelings [of patriotism]? It is even unto this that thou art wont to urge and incite us!*"

[1] The circumstances of this affair are ruthlessly exposed by Mr Wilfrid Scawen Blunt in a little pamphlet published by T Fisher Unwin in August, 1906, and entitled *Atrocities of Justice under British Rule in Egypt* See also Mr Bernard Shaw's *Preface for Politicians* (pp xliv–lix "the Denshawai Horror") prefixed to *John Bull's other Island* (London · Constable & Co 1907)

This poem, which is written with equal power and restraint, undoubtedly expressed the deepest feelings of the Egyptian people, but it is to be feared that it was never read by him to whom it was addressed

Another book of Arabic verse which created a great stir in Egypt, leading to the flight of the author to Constantinople, the prosecution and imprisonment of the Nationalist leaders, Muhammad Ferid Bey and Shaykh 'Abdu'l-'Azíz Shawísh, and the confiscation of the book, was a collection of patriotic poems entitled *Waṭaniyyatí* ("My Patriotism"), by Shaykh 'Alí al-Ghāyātí Most of these poems are topical, referring to such events as Lord Cromer's departure from Egypt on May 6, 1907; the revival of the Press Law by Butrus Pasha on March 25, 1909, the assassination of Butrus Pasha by Ibráhím Efendi Násif al-Wardání on February 20, 1910, the execution of al-Wardání on June 28, 1910, Roosevelt's speech of March 29, 1910, at Cairo, and his Guildhall speech of May 31, 1910, both of which caused intense annoyance to the Egyptians, etc Some of the earlier poems, composed in 1907, originally appeared in the paper *al-Mu'ayyad*, but most of the later ones were first published in the celebrated Nationalist organ *al-Liwá* ("the Standard") Proceedings were instituted against the poet and against Ferid Bey and Shaykh 'Abdu'l-'Azíz Shawísh (each of whom had contributed a preface to the little volume) on July 14, 1910 Ferid Bey was at the time in Europe, and the poet Shaykh 'Alí al-Ghāyātí[1] succeeded, as mentioned above, in escaping to Constantinople, so that Shaykh 'Abdu'l-'Azíz Shawísh was left for the moment to bear the brunt of the prosecution He was sent for trial on July 26, and on August 6, 1910, was sentenced to three months' imprisonment, and Ferid Bey on his subsequent return to Egypt suffered a similar fate

So effective was the suppression of this little book *Waṭaniyyatí* that it cost me an infinity of trouble to obtain even the loan of a

[1] I have recently learned that the poet al Ghāyātí has renounced his Nationalist opinions and reconciled himself to the Khedive, in whose honour he composed a panegyric on the occasion of his anniversary, January 8, 1912, and from whom he now receives a pension on which he lives at Geneva, shunned by his former comrades, who call him "the Egyptian Gapon"

copy, and its rarity and inaccessibility may therefore excuse me for briefly describing it. It comprises 129 pages of 18 × 13 centimetres, and contains (1) the Author's Preface (pp. 2–3), (2) his dedication of the work to the dead Nationalist leader, Muṣṭafá Kámil Pasha, and his living successors, Ferid Bey and Shaykh 'Abdu'l-'Azíz Shawísh (pp 4–5), (3) Ferid Bey's Preface (pp. 6–8) on "the influence of Poetry in the education of Nations", (4) Shaykh Shawísh's Preface (pp 9–11) on "Poetry and the Poet", (5) an Introduction (pp 12–32), apparently by the poet, dealing chiefly with the dearth of patriotic verse in Egypt at the time of writing, the history and influence of the *Marseillaise*, and a panegyric on the French Revolution This concludes the preliminary prose portion of the book, which also contains signed portraits of the three collaborators It is followed by the poems, forty-six in number (pp. 33–128), which are fully annotated to explain the circumstances under which each was written

I have not at hand an account of the trial, but, so far as my recollection serves me, the prosecution was chiefly based on three poems (Nos 15, 27 and 30), of which the first (published in the *Liwá* on August 19, 1909) was addressed to Dingra (the murderer of Sir Curzon Wylie) who had been executed two days previously, the second dealt with the assassination of the Coptic Premier Buṭrus Pasha, who was shot by al-Wardání on February 20, 1910, and the third (a short poem of four verses) described the condemnation to death of al-Wardání, who was executed on June 28, 1910 The Prefaces contributed by Ferid Bey and Shaykh Shawísh contained nothing which would appear to justify a prosecution for sedition according to English ideas, but the writers seem to have been held responsible for the utterances of the poet whose work they thus in some measure endorsed, in spite of their contention that they had not read all the poems contained in the volume to which they placed themselves in the position of sponsors. In order to enable the reader to judge for himself how far the utterances of Ferid Bey and Shaykh Shawísh merited such draconic reprisals, and also because their remarks are of interest in connection with the general development of patriotic poetry in the East (a quite recent though widely spread

phenomenon), a complete translation of their two Prefaces is here given. Feríd Bey's Preface is as follows:

"*The Influence of Poetry in the Education of Nations.*

"Poetry is one of the most active agents in awakening nations from their lethargy and in inspiring them with the spirit of vitality, even as it is one of the chief incentives to battle and inspirers of heroic endeavour and risking of life in war. Hence from ancient times we find such heroic poetry prevalent amongst the Arabs and other noble nations, such as the Romans, the Greeks, and so forth.

"No one will deny that the French song composed by the French officer, Rouget de l'Isle, and entitled 'the Marseillaise,' was one of the most potent causes of the victory of France over the kings of Europe, who had combined to extinguish the Spirit of Freedom on its first appearance.

"Hence some writers amongst us have written much on the necessity of composing patriotic elegies and songs, so that our children may learn them by heart and sing them in their leisure hours or recite them in their play time, instead of the songs and verses which the street-children repeat, especially during the nights of Ramazán the Blessed. So likewise they have written on the necessity of changing the songs which are sung on festive occasions, all of which revolve round one point, to wit Love and the attribution to the Beloved of qualities '*which God hath not revealed anything to authorize*'.[1]

"One of the results of the autocratic government of an individual, equally in the West or in the East, is the destruction of heroic poetry, and the inducing of poets, by the means of gifts and favours, to compose insipid panegyrics and futile encomiums on kings, nobles and ministers, and to withdraw themselves from everything which can educate men's minds and implant in them the love of Liberty and Independence. So likewise another result of this despotism is the complete absence from the sermons delivered in places of worship of anything which might profit the hearer, since all of them revolve round the subject of withdrawal

[1] These words are a quotation from the *Súratu'n Najm*, or "Chapter of the Star," in the *Qur'án* (liii, 23).

from the world, mingled with incitements to idleness and the patient expectation of daily bread without any effort or work

"Hence those nations which have undergone political subjugation, becoming apprized of this fact, make the production of patriotic poems and heroic verses (in the classical language for the educated class and in the common language for peasants, artizans and others of the uneducated classes) one of the first of their principles, and this becomes one of the most potent factors in inspiring all classes with a spirit of patriotism And I rejoice that this auspicious *Risorgimento* has permeated our country, and that most of the poets have left off composing panegyrics on nobles and governors, and have turned their attention to, and used their gifts for, the production of patriotic poetry, and the employment of it to describe the political circumstances which engage public attention The present work, *Wataniyyati*, has appeared in the vanguard of this auspicious and righteous revival

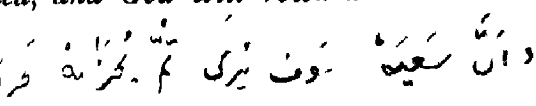
"My joy is increased by the fact that village poets have composed verses and songs about the Denshawi affair and what grew out of it, about the late Mustafa Kámil Pasha and his patriotic efforts, and about the Suez Canal question and the repudiation of its legality by the General Assembly[1], and that they have begun to sing them around their camp-fires and at their festivals to the accompaniment of their simple instruments of music This, please God, is a movement full of promise, proving that the efforts of the patriotic party have borne fruit, and that their efforts have reached the depths of men's hearts in all classes of the people, promising a speedy deliverance, by God's permission, from the occupation and from the despotism of an individual

"It therefore behoves the poets to abandon the habit of composing laudatory poems and panegyrics on the occasion of notable anniversaries and recognized festivals, and to employ their lofty and God-given talents for the service and education of the people, instead of devoting them to the service of the rich

[1] The deliberations of the General Assembly as to the proposed prolongation of the Suez Canal concession lasted from February 9 until April 9, 1910, when it was unanimously rejected by all the members of the Assembly with the exception of the Copt Marqus Bey Sumayka.

and the flattery of nobles, or using them as a means to gain the favour of Ministers, seeing that the rulers pass away, while the Nation remains

"Peace be upon him who heareth and remembereth, and who succeeds in serving his country and striving for it 'Verily his striving shall be regarded, and God will reward him with an abundant recompense[1]'"



Here follows Shaykh 'Abdu'l-'Azíz Shawísh's Preface

"*Poetry and Poets*

"Some poetasters are wont to imagine that poetry consists merely in metrical sentences in which due regard is paid to the proper rhyme Hence you see them as bold as can be in composing *qasídas* (panegyrics) and in laying claim to poetic talent, relying herein on the ignorance of the majority as to the real nature of poetry, its essential qualities, and the conditions on which depend its correctness and perfection, and well aware of the rarity of persons of sufficient culture to discriminate between the bad and the good, or to comprehend the subtle differences which distinguish fruitful from barren verses Especially is this the case at this time, when the faculty of properly wielding the Arabic language has grown weak, in consequence of the growth of foreign influences over the Arabs and the bad taste which accompanies this, so that the very construction of its phrases is in the utmost need of rectification

"If you wish to know what good poetry is, put away from yourself metrical feet and undue regard for rhyming letters and elaborate verbiage, and pay heed only to the effect which it leaves in your spirit. For indeed the best poetry is that which possesses your heart until you put it aside, even as the finest pictures are those which hold your vision until they are hidden from it If, therefore, you would know the difference between natural and artificial poetry, if you perceive (when you hear it) that the ideas which it expresses are, as it were, spirits which whisper to you, while its words come forth almost

[1] This quotation is also from the *Súratu'n-Najm* (*Qur'án*, liii, 41–2). In the original text a facsimile of Feríd Bey's signature is subjoined.

spontaneously from your mouth, that is natural poetry; while if the motives enter your heart in diverse ways, and its exordium and arrangement do not harmonize when heard, that is artificial poetry[1], of the shallow outpourings of which none will drink the dregs save the ignorant poetaster or the hireling poet. For how can poetry be beautiful or sweet to hear when it issues forth from a heart unmoved and a soul unaffected? Or is poetry aught else than a mirror wherein are seen the effects of psychical influences controlling the spirit of the composer?

"'Abdu'l-Malik once said to Artát ibn Suhayya[2], 'How is it now with thy poetry?' 'By Alláh,' he replied, 'O Commander of the Faithful, I neither rejoice, nor am angry, nor desire, nor fear, and poetry is not produced save as the result of one of these four emotions!'

"That is not poetry which results from the poet's contemplation of fantastic forms which transcend realities, or from his pursuing the path of exaggeration in praise and blame. Poetry is naught else than the depicting of the images which circulate in the mind; and just as the most skilful painter is not he who combines incompatible elements or who pourtrays on his canvas something which does not correspond with any existing eternal reality, but rather he who turns his attention to something which does exist and pourtrays it with so fine a shading that it seems to him who gazes on it as though he were looking at its subject as something endowed with external existence, so likewise the most skilful poet is he who attains to true conceptions and judgements and sets them forth to the hearer in sentences which captivate his intelligence and impel him to act in conformity with their requirements.

"All that the poet has to do, therefore, after he has fully endowed his poetry with its due measure of sincerity and discriminating insight, is to clothe it in well-conceived sentences

[1] The writer's meaning is, I think, that the artificial poetry of the panegyrists which he is denouncing is generally a mere display of rhetorical figures not bound together by any strong underlying motive, so that such emotions as it evokes are disconnected and incoherent.

[2] 'Abdu'l-Malik, the fifth Umayyad Caliph, reigned A.D. 685–705 (A.H. 65–86). Artát was one of the most eminent poets who belong exclusively to the Umayyad period.

and emphasize the harmony of the ideas one with another. For the composition of poetry is only like setting words to music and adapting them to song; and just as melody is not pleasing to the ear except when its component parts harmonize, so also poetry, when its sentences do not harmonize and its ideas do not accord, is a mere deafening of the ears and a grief to the spirit of man

"If anyone would see a specimen of poetry which combines grace of words with wealth of ideas, and strength of structure with sincerity of diction, let him read a little of this book *Wataniyyati*, and let him who will enquire of its effects from these growing energies, and these ardent souls, and these loyal resolutions, for they are of its planting and of the fairest of its fruits"

As regards the poems of Shaykh 'Alí al-Ghayátí, while it is impossible to ignore their spirit and vigour, or to deny that many of them contain only legitimate though sometimes caustic criticisms of men and measures obnoxious to the author's political creed, several of them are quite indefensible, especially the poem on Dingra, which, in spite of certain qualifications made by the author in his notes, does undoubtedly convey the impression that he condoned to a certain extent the terrible and tragic crime with which this man's name is associated It may be questioned whether any murder in recent times has produced results so evil and so far reaching The assassin had no grudge, personal or political, against his victim Sir Curzon Wylie, who, indeed, was known as a friend and benefactor of Indian students of a kind greatly needed and too rarely found in this country in the present day This fact greatly increased the indignation aroused by a crime which seemed almost insane in its purposelessness, and this indignation manifested itself, illogically enough, in a widespread and undiscriminating alienation of sympathy from the whole body of Indian students, most of them hard-working, peaceable, intelligent and deserving men, who visit this country, and even tended to increase that unhappy antipathy which has grown up in recent years between the West and the East The more one loves the East, appreciates its virtues, and sympathizes

with its aspirations, the more must one deplore this unhappy event, and desire that it should be buried in oblivion rather than enshrined in verse.

How far, in English law, the writer of a preface is held responsible for the contents of the book to which it is prefixed is another question, but neither of these prefaces, especially that of Shaykh Shawísh, would appear to the unprejudiced reader to contain in itself any matter so seditious or objectionable as to deserve so harsh a punishment as was meted out to its author. There is moreover a certain irony in the general attitude assumed by the most powerful "Liberal" Government of modern England towards freedom of speech and freedom of the Press in its Eastern dependencies which constantly recalls to my mind the following anecdote concerning the above-mentioned Umayyad Caliph 'Abdu'l-Malik related in that delightful history of the Caliphate the *Kitábu'l-Fakhrí*[1]

"'Abdu'l-Malik before he succeeded to the Caliphate, was one of the pietists of al-Madína, so that he was nicknamed 'the Mosque Dove,' because of his indefatigable reading of the Scripture. But when his father died and he was acclaimed Caliph, he closed the Sacred Volume and said, *This is a separation between me and thee*[2]!'"

When I read or recall this passage there rises before my mind's eye the form of a veteran "Liberal" statesman on the eve of the "Seven fat years" reading, marking, learning, and inwardly digesting John Stuart Mill's *Liberty*. To him enter his enthusiastic followers and admirers to announce the triumph of "Liberalism" and his elevation to the rank of Secretary of State and Cabinet Minister, whereupon he lays aside the treatise on *Liberty*[3], saying, as 'Abdu'l-Malik said more than twelve hundred years ago, "*This is a separation between me and thee!*"

[1] There are three editions of this book (composed in the thirteenth century of our era): that of Ahlwardt (Gotha, 1860), that of Derenbourg (Paris, 1894), and the cheap but excellent Egyptian reprint (A.H. 1317). The anecdote here quoted occurs on p. 110 of the latter. A French translation of the text by Émile Amar has recently been published by Leroux of Paris.

[2] This is a quotation from the *Suratu'l Kahf* (*Qur'án*, xviii, 77).

[3] Not only in Egypt but also in India the Press Law is now (November, 1913) excessively stringent. A pamphlet entitled "Come over into Macedonia and help us,"

It would be out of place here to speak at length of the contents of *Watanıyyatı*, though most of the forty-six poems which it contains are interesting both on account of their intrinsic merit and because of their connection with recent political events. I will only mention two excellent ones (Nos 33 and 34, pp 108–112) addressed to Mr Roosevelt in remonstrance against the speeches he delivered at the Egyptian University in Cairo on Monday, March 29, 1910, and at the Guildhall in London on May 31 of the same year. I subjoin a score of verses from the first, which is at once the more spirited and the more graceful

لَعَمْرُكَ لستَ بالرَّجُلِ الهُمامِ ‌ ‌ ‌ اذا عُدَّ الهُمامُ من الكرامِ
كِرامُ النّاسِ أصدقُهم حديثًا ‌ ‌ ‌ و أبعدُ عن أكاذيبِ اللِّئامِ
وما لكَ لم تَقُمْ في النّيلِ إلّا ‌ ‌ ‌ لتُسْمِعَنا أباطيلَ الكلامِ
أراكَ ترى البلادَ بغيرِ عينٍ ‌ ‌ ‌ رأيْتَ بها بلادَكَ منذُ عامِ
كأنّا دونَ قومِكَ في المعالي ‌ ‌ ‌ و دونَكَ في اليَراعةِ و الحُسامِ
رُوَيْدًا يا فتى التّاريخِ إنّا ‌ ‌ ‌ لنا خطرٌ على الأيّامِ نامِ
جمعْنا الدّينَ و الدّنيا وكنّا ‌ ‌ ‌ أساتِذةَ الورى من عهدِ سامِ
فمَنْ أنتم اذا افتخرتْ شعوبٌ ‌ ‌ ‌ بمجدٍ في ذرا الأهرامِ سامِ

appealing for help for the Turkish victims of the Balkan Crusaders, and published by Mohammed 'Alí, the editor of the Indian *Comrade*, was confiscated, and the same fate has, I understand, overtaken my pamphlet entitled "*The Reign of Terror in Tabríz*," describing the cruelties perpetrated by the Russians at the beginning of 1912 in that unhappy city. The law is so stringent that it can, apparently, be employed to suppress historical statements of facts, even if unaccompanied by unfavourable comments and criticisms, as appears from the following paragraph from the Delhi *Comrade* of November 13, 1912. "Again, there is the question of the liberty of the Press, which has of late been rising in the scale of public notice. The Press Act of 1910 has given a rude check to the progress of what is known in the West as the Fourth Estate, and has almost choked the mouth of the Indian Journalist, who gasps at the freedom of writing which is practically enjoyed by the Anglo-Indian section of the Press in spite of the dreaded Act. The worst features of the Act have been signally brought to light by the judgment on the application of Mr Mohammed 'Alí, by a Special Bench of the Calcutta High Court, against an order of the Bengal Government declaring, under Section 12 of the said Act, a perfectly harmless pamphlet entitled *Come over into Macedonia and help us* forfeited to His Majesty. In the course of the judgment we have seen how the learned Judges have exposed the absurdity of Section 4, which condemns the printing and publishing of 'any newspaper, book or other document containing any words, signs or visible representations which are likely or may have a tendency, directly or indirectly, whether by reference, suggestion, allusion, metaphor, implication or *otherwise* (the italics are ours) to bring into hatred or contempt any class or section of His Majesty's subjects in British India,'"

نَبا ما كان من مجدٍ تليدٍ، و ما كنتم هنالك فى الأنامِ
فإن شئتم سلوا التاريخ انّا، أضاناهُ و انتم فى ظلامِ

* * * * *

أراكَ و قد جهلتَ فليتَ شعري، أباغي الحربِ أنت أم السلامِ
تَهبّ فترسِل النهتانَ فينا، و ترمينا بطائشةِ السهامِ
فهل أعداك طبعُ الوحش حتّى، عششتَ وأنتَ فى دارِ ابتسامِ
خطبتَ و لقنوا من غير علمٍ، فكانت رميةً من غيرِ رامِ
لعمرك إنّ كوكًا منكَ أولى، بألقابِ الدكاترةِ الفخامِ
نراهم كذّبوه و لا نراه، روى ما قال عن حزبِ العصامِ
و لكنّا نراك و أنت تُلقى، علينا ما رويتَ عن الطغامِ
كلا الرجلين مختلقٌ و لكن، أرى روزفلت أخلق بالملامِ
فلا تنقم علينا بعد هذا، و أكبر ما نروم من المرامي
و دونك من بنات الشعر بيتًا، رواه النيل عن ربّ الكلامِ
"خطبتَ فكنتَ خطأً لا خطيبًا، أضيف الى مصائبنا الجسامِ

(*Translation*)

"*By thy life, thou art not a magnanimous man, if the magnanimous man is reckoned amongst the noble!*
The noble ones of mankind are the most truthful in their speech, and the furthest removed from the falsehoods of meaner men.
What ails thee that thou didst not stand up by the Nile save to cause us to listen to vain words?
I perceive that thou regardest [other] countries with a different eye from that wherewith thou didst regard thine own country a year ago!
As though we were inferior to thy people in lofty qualities, and inferior to thee in the [use of] the pen and the sword!
Gently, O champion of history! For we hold a position which waxes with the days,
We combine [preeminence in] this world and in the Faith, and have been lords of creation since the days of Shem!

Who are ye, what time the nations boast of glory high enthroned on the pinnacles of the pyramids?

We had what we have of ancient glory when you were not there amongst mankind

If you will, ask history concerning us, for verily we illuminated it when you were still in darkness

* * * * *

I see thee ignorant, and would that I knew whether thou seekest war or peace!

Thou breathest forth and sendeth calumny amongst us, shooting at us with arrows which miss the mark

Hath the nature of the wild beasts[1] *passed over into thee, until thou frownest when thou art in a place where thou should'st smile?*

Thou didst make a speech, and they gave thee a title without [thy having] any knowledge, and it was [a case of] 'a bow drawn at a venture'

By thy life, verily Cook[2] *hath a better claim than thee to the title of 'Honorary Doctor'!*

We see men calling him a liar, but we do not see him relating what he says on the authority of a hostile faction[3]

But we see thee casting up against us what is reported by ignoble persons

Both men were fabricators of falsehood, but I consider Roosevelt the more deserving of blame

Henceforth do not cast reproach on us, nor on the greatest of the objects at which we aim!

Enough for thee is one verse of the daughters of song which the Nile hands down from that Master of Words

'Thou didst speak, and thou wast not an orator, but rather a burden which was added to our other great calamities[4]*!'"*

[1] *i e* the wild beasts which Mr Roosevelt went to Africa to hunt, and by the slaughter of which he earned the *soubriquet* of "the Butcher of Africa" (*Jazzár-u Ifríqiya*)

[2] *i e* the American Cook, who claimed to have reached the North Pole, and was at first received with great honour, but afterwards became the laughing stock of all

[3] *i e* even if he told lies, they were not inspired by malice, nor did he injure his fellow men

[4] The last verse is a quotation or "insertion" (*tadmín*) from one of Shawqí Bey's poems

Lord Cromer's work, *Modern Egypt*, called forth some angry verses, and although the poet exaggerates when, in a footnote on p 36, he describes this book as "crammed with vituperation and calumny of Egypt and the Egyptians, and Islám and the Muslims," it undoubtedly contains statements and expressions which are unnecessarily wounding to Egyptian and Muslim sentiment, and in some cases quite unjustifiable One specimen of each kind may be given In vol ii, pp 228–9, Lord Cromer says "It should never be forgotten that Islám cannot be reformed, that is to say, reformed Islám is Islám no longer, it is something else, we cannot as yet tell what it will eventually be", and he quotes the opinion of Sir William Muir in support of this view, which I believe to be incorrect, and which, thus baldly phrased, is certainly calculated to wound Muslim sentiment This point, however, is susceptible of argument and discussion, but it is otherwise when Lord Cromer speaks (vol i p 324) of "some illiterate Egyptian of the type of Arábi or Mahmoud Sami" 'Arábí Pasha, a simple soldier, had no pretensions to literary culture though he was far from illiterate in his own language, but Mahmúd Sámí Pasha was not only a great bibliophile but one of the most notable poets of modern Egypt, some of whose verses are included in every anthology of modern Arabic poetry[1] No doubt Lord Cromer spoke in perfect good faith, being obsessed by the idea "that there was only one true civilization in the world, and that was the civilization of Europe[2]", but the very fact that he did not even know after spending nearly a quarter of a century in Egypt, that so famous a man as Mahmúd Sámí Pasha was a great poet amongst his own people shews better than anything else can do how far removed he was from any real sympathy with or interest in the higher manifestations of the intellectual life of that people concerning whose material circumstances he writes with such unquestioned authority.

Watani[illegible]*ti* s undoubtedly [illegible] remarkable book, deserving a [illegible]

[1] See, for ex[illegible] the anthology of Arabic ve[illegible] published in A H 1322 (A.D. 1904) at Cairo by Amín 'Umar al-B[illegible] [illegible] Hasan Mahmud, pp 248–252 Mahmud Sámí himself [illegible] extensive [illegible] verse, which has been published since h[illegible] A H 1322 = A D 1904–5) in [illegible] comprising 1809 pages.

[2] *Op. cit*, vol ii, p [illegible]

fuller notice than can here be accorded it. If, on the one hand, it contained, as already admitted, certain things which had better have remained unwritten and unpublished, it also contained genuine poetry inspired by a fervent though indiscreet patriotism —poetry of the kind so well described by Shaykh Shawísh as "that which possesses your heart until you put it aside," and the ideas embodied in which "are, as it were, spirits which whisper to you, while its words come forth almost spontaneously from the mouth", or which, in the words of a much older Oriental critic, the twelfth century Persian poet Nizámí-i-'Arúzí of Samarqand, "by acting on the imagination excites the faculties of anger and desire in such a way that by its suggestion men's temperaments become affected with exultation or depression, whereby it conduces to the accomplishment of great deeds in the order of the world[1]"

Patriotic poetry, as we understand it, hardly existed in the Muhammadan East until the most recent times The nearest approach to it is to be found in such old Arabic poems as the *Mu'allaqa* of 'Amr b Kulthúm, who, writing in the "Days of Ignorance" or 'Barbarism" (*Ayyamu'l-Jahiliyyat*) before the advent of the Prophet Muhammad, boasted of the prowess of his tribe in words which, *mutatis mutandis* might, as my old friend the late Sayyid 'Alí Bilgrámí used to say, have been written by Rudyard Kipling about the English, as where he says (to quote one verse only)

ملأنا الأرض حتى ضاق عنّا ، و نحن البحر نملؤه سفينا ،

"We have filled the earth until it hath become too narrow for us,
And the sea likewise we have filled with our ships"

In Persia some four centuries later (early [illegible]th century of the [illegible] "Epic of the [illegible] of pride in [illegible] race [illegible]s and high [illegible]ása Such poetry is

[1] [illegible] my translation of the [illegible] Discourses") of this poet, published by the J R A S [illegible]rt), and the text of the same, published in the Gibb [illegible]

ancient times is, however, so far as my studies go, always of the triumphant, victorious and imperialistic type, while of the more subtle and moving patriotic verse of the conquered and helpless nation (that verse wherein Ireland stands supreme[1]), which can only strive to maintain its spiritual life under the more or less galling yoke of the foreign invader, and must sustain its sense of nationhood by memories of a glorious past and hopes of a happier future, there is hardly a trace in Persian or Arabic until this present century

In this connection I may with advantage insert a translation of the Preface prefixed by Mírzá Áqá Khán of Kirmán, one of the first "Martyrs of the Constitution,"[2] to his *Salár-náma*, a poem written in imitation of the *Shah-náma*, of which the suppressed portions have been lately rendered accessible in the Introductory volume of the *Názimu'l-Islám's* "History of the Persian Awakening" (pp 242—4)

"Having regard to the fact that I have made use in the compilation of this brief history of ancient monuments, old writings, and the substantial discoveries of contemporary historians, I have concluded the book also with an epic ending, after the fashion and method of the poets of Europe Possibly some of the accomplished scholars and fortune-favoured men of letters of Persia may make me the object of attack on account of this, and may say, What sort of versification is this, and what kind of poetical composition wherein, setting thyself in opposition to all the poets of Persia, thou hast come out from the circle of good manners and good sense, which it behoves all good tail-wagging trencher-lickers to observe, and, abandoning the straight and safe high-road of flattery and servility, takest upon thyself to speak words of so true and serious an import? '*Travel the road as previous travell*...

"To thi... ...ood

[1] I need h... Nation", but ... charming little volume of ve... plays of the Irish players, M... most beautiful and delicate ... ...alist sentiment.

[2] Concerning Mírzá ... ...see my *Persian Revolution*, pp. 93–96 and 409–41...

deeds must be judged by their results No one disputes the effectiveness or originality of the old poets and orators of Persia, nor does anyone contest the brilliancy and grace of their verses, while the insolent charm inherent in the poetry of many of the moderns is a matter on which all are agreed But he must consider what sort of effect has hitherto been produced by the writings of our poets and men of letters, what kind of fruit has been borne by the tree which they have planted in the garden of song, and what results have been given by the seed which they have sown

"The result of their exaggerations and hyperboles has been to concentrate falsehood in the simple natures of the people

"The result of their praise and flattery has been to stimulate kings and ministers to the commission of all manner of vile and foolish actions

"The result of their metaphysics and mysticism has been nothing but a crop of brutish idleness and sloth, and the production of religious mendicants and beggars

"The result of their odes to roses and nightingales has been nothing but the corruption of our young men's morals, and the impelling of them towards smooth cheeks and red wine

"The result of their satires and *facetiae* has been nothing but the diffusion of vice and immorality and the promotion of sinful and reprehensible practices

"If we examine the history of the poets of Islám and the patrons whom they flattered we shall say

"It was the poems and panegyrics of Abú Nuwás and others like him which plunged the 'Abbásid Caliphs into the folly of wine-drinking, mid-day slumbers, and other mischiefs

"It was the *qasídas* of 'Unsurí, Rúdagí, Farrukhí and others like them which destroyed [illegible] the Royal Houses of Sámán and [illegible]

[illegible] of 'Iráqí [illegible] thriftless [illegible]

[illegible] Zahír [-i-Fáryábí], Rashíd [-i-Watwát] and Kam[illegible]ání] which produced such tyrannical, worthless a[illegible]t Kings

"It was the erotic verses of Sa'dí, Humám, and such as they which utterly corrupted the morals of the youth of Persia

"It was the satires and *facetiae* of Súzaní, Saná'í (*sic*!) and others which gave such currency to immorality and sin

"It was the detestable obscurities of Kháqání and such as he which involved Mírzá Mahdí Khán [the historian of Nádir Sháh], and the Sáhib ['Alá'u'd-Dín 'Atá Malik-i-Juwayní, the historian of the Mongols], and 'the Court Panegyrist' [*Waṣṣáf-i-Hazrat*] in their senseless inanities of verbiage

"It was the long-winded rodomontades of Sabá, the hair-splittings of Shihấb, and the Kuláh-julís and 'Alí-qulís of Qa'ání which have to-day entirely obliterated love of virtue and hatred of vice from the natures of the Persian nobles, plunging them into extraordinary vices and vilenesses even as God Most High says [*Qur'an*, xxvi, 224], '*As for the poets, the erring follow them*'

"The poets of Europe have composed and do compose every variety of these poems, but they have brought poetry and the poetic art under so sound a scheme of arrangement, and have made their verses so conformable to the laws of Logic that they have no other effect than to illuminate men's ideas dispel vain legends, endow their minds with insight, admonish the careless, educate the foolish, castigate the ignorant, incite men's souls to virtuous deeds, reprove and turn aside their hearts from vicious actions, admonish them and inspire them with zeal patriotism and devotion to their people This is the true meaning of '*Verily in poetry there is somewhat of wisdom*'

"Yes, the proper effect of poetry is the stirring of men's hearts, the moving of their compassion, and the quickening of their understandings and thoughts but it must impel them to virtues, piety and moderation, not to vile evil and mean deeds and the like Of the Persian poets the only one whom European men of letters praise is that same Firdawsí of Tús, the verses of whose *Sháh-náma*, although in some places they are not free from hyperbole, do nevertheless in some degree inspire in the hearts of Persians patriotism, love of their race, energy and courage, while here and there they also strive to reform their characters

"I trust that the result of my own worthless verses may also shortly become evident and apparent in the world of humanity, and may hereafter be, alike to the eloquent and effective writer, a model and exemplar leading them to imitate the poets of Europe, so that they may realize that such poetry as does not convey some moral or lead to some philosophical conclusion is merely of the nature of empty phrases and idle tales and vapourings"

The views here advanced by Mírzá Áqá Khán are, of course, a monstrous exaggeration of the real facts, and I have only quoted them to illustrate the development amongst Persians also of a demand for patriotic poetry and for a note of greater sincerity and higher purpose in verse His disparagement of the great classical poets is, in my opinion, ill-considered and unjustifiable the noble mysticism of Jalálu'd-Dín Rúmí, the tender passion of Háfiz, and the practical wisdom of Sa'dí will never be superseded so long as the Persian language is spoken and studied But this passion for the Fatherland is a new thing in Asia, or at any rate in Western and Central Asia, and it is perhaps natural and inevitable that its votaries should be impatient of the centuries of poetical talent devoted to other, and, in their eyes, less worthy objects

Curiously enough it was the Ottoman Turks, a people far less original and talented than either the Persians or the Arabs, who, so far as the Near East is concerned introduced the hitherto unknown ideas of "the Fatherland" (*Watan*), "the Nation" or "People" (*Millat*), and "Liberty" (*Hurriyyat*), and who succeeded in giving to these old words this new and potent significance. The origin of that movement, half literary and half political, associated with the "New Turks" (*Yeñi Türkler*), or, as they are absurdly called, in phraseology which they themselves have now unfortunately accepted, "Young Turks," has been well sketched by my friend the late Mr F J W Gibb in the fifth volume of his monumental *History of Ottoman Poetry*, and is elaborated in much fuller detail in a supplement to that work compiled by the learned and ingenious Dr Rizá Tevfíq formerly Deputy for

Adrianople in the Turkish Parliament, which I am now translating into English and hope to publish before long The pioneers of this movement, as is well known, were Shinásí Efendi (died in 1871), Ẓiyá Pasha (died in 1880), and Kemál Bey (died in 1888), who was the greatest of the three All these drew their ideas, both political and literary, from France, and the period of their greatest activity may be placed between 1863, when Kemál, then only twenty-three years of age, joined forces with Shinásí, and 1873, when he published his great patriotic play *Watan, yakhod Silistra* ("Silistria, or the Fatherland") of which the production at the theatre at Gedik Pasha caused so extraordinary an ebullition of feeling These three eminent writers represent what Gibb calls the "Period of Preparation" (1859–1879) of Modern Turkish Poetry, the succeeding period, inaugurated in 1879 by the publication of 'Abdu'l-Haqq Hámid Bey's *Sahrá* ('the Country"), being what he terms the "Period of Achievement' Apart from his merits as a poet and dramatist, to Kemál Bey undoubtedly belongs the credit of giving to the three old Arabic words mentioned above the new meanings of "Fatherland," "People" and "Freedom," not only in Turkey, but throughout the Muhammadan East[1] In classical Arabic *watan* means merely the place of birth or domicile, *millat* a religious community, and *hurriyyat* the state of a free man or one nobly born as opposed to that of a slave or plebeian and Kemal's great and enduring achievement was that he succeeded in giving to these words, not only in literary circles but in the mouths of the people, and not only in Turkey but in Persia and the Arabic-speaking lands as well, the full and exact significance of *Patrie*, *Peuple* or *Nation*, and *Liberté*, so that the humblest patriots who died on the Russian gallows at Tabríz in January 1912 cried with their last breath "*Yashasun Watan* or "*Zinda bád Watan*" in the full sense of "*Vive la Patrie!*"

Turkish patriotic poetry, as has been already suggested, is rather of the "Rule Britannia" than of the "God save Ireland" type, and contemplates death on the field of battle as the alternative to a glorious victory, rather than death on the gallows

[1] See Gibb's *History of Ottoman Poetry*, vol v, p 19.

as the alternative to the renunciation of National aspirations. Of recent Turkish patriotic poetry a very interesting example is afforded by a little book entitled *Turkja Shi'r-ler* ("Turkish poems') by Emín Bey, published in A H 1316 (A D 1898–9), the proceeds of the sale of which were assigned to the relief of the widows and orphans of Turkish soldiers killed in the war with the Greeks This book, beautifully printed and illustrated, was produced at the celebrated printing-press of the late Ebu'-z Ziyá Tevfíq Bey, is prefaced by laudatory letters from Rijá'í-zádé Ekrem Bey, 'Abdu'l-Haqq Hamid Bey, Dr Rizá Tevfíq Bey, and other eminent contemporary Turkish poets and thinkers, and is remarkable for the extraordinarily Turkish quality of its vocabulary, from which every endeavour has been made to banish the Arabic and Persian elements prevalent in the older Turkish literary idiom The author may be most briefly described as a Turkish Rudyard Kipling, and his poems as *Barrack Room Ballads* of the Imperial Ottoman Army They bear such titles as 'A Voice from Anatolia or, Going to the War", "Crossing the Greek frontier", "After planting the Flag on Trikhála (Tirhala) Castle", "the Martyr, or the Heart of 'Osmán", "the Orphan Child, or Ahmed's Anxiety", "O, Fatherhood! or, Zeynab's Prayer,' and the like The illustrations are of Turkish privates, filled with the rage of battle, flushed with victory, or charging with the bayonet, and the volume concludes with a martial song, set to music, of which the opening words are as follows

بن بر تُركم دينم جنسم اولودر
سينه‌م اوزوم آتشيله طولودر
انسان اولان وطننك قولودر
ترك اولادى اوده طورمار—آه گيدرم!

"*I am a Turk, my religion, my race are high,*
My breast, my soul, are filled with fire!
Whosoever is a man is the servant of his Country!
The sons of the Turk stay not at home O! I go!"[1]

[1] In spite of the poet's desire to employ, as far as possible, a purely Turkish vocabulary, this one verse contains five Arabic and two Persian words

Amongst the many bizarre developments of the most modern Turkish schools of poetry, including the "Coming Dawn" (*Fejr-i-Átí*) and "New Literature" (*Edebiyyát-i-jedídé*), with their "Symbolists," "Parnassians," "Pre-Raphaelites," and imitators of Mallarmé, Verlaine and the like, one known as the "New Túránian" (*Yeñi Túran*), which has a magazine called *Turk Yurdu* ("the Turkish Folk" or "Hearth") as its special organ and counts Muhammed Emín, the poet just mentioned, amongst its chief supporters, merits a few words in this place, not so much on account of its literary as of its political peculiarities. This "New Túránian" school, of course, affects in its writings an excessively Turkish style, and endeavours as far as possible to eliminate the Arabic and Persian elements from its vocabulary, but, not content with this natural, and, to a certain extent, laudable desire to nationalize the language, it displays the most violent hatred of Arabic and Persian influences in all their forms, and even of the Arabs and Persians, especially the latter. It demands a federation of all the Turkish, Tartar, Mongolian and other allied peoples (including even the Bulgarians!) with a view to the ultimate creation of a new "Empire of Chingíz Khán". So far, indeed, does it go in its admiration for even the most barbarous forms of "Túránianism" that it idolizes the bloodthirsty Tamerlane (*Tímur-i-Lang*, or "Limping Tímúr"), the scourge of Asia in the fifteenth century, and blames the Ottoman Sultan Báyezíd "the Thunderbolt" (*Yildirim Bayezíd*) as a "rebellious vassal" who vainly strove to check the victorious advance of his Túránian overlord whose advent he should rather have hailed with joy as the incarnate all-conquering martial spirit of the Tartar or Túránian race. This insane vandalism of the "New Túránian School" in Turkey may best be likened to the literary and artistic vagaries of Marinetti and the Italian Futurists.

Here I will conclude this brief review of certain aspects (not, in my opinion, devoid of significance and interest) of the literary activities which have accompanied the strange political movements witnessed in recent years in the Near and Middle East, of which the Persian manifestations are not the least interesting or the least significant. To Mr H. L. Rabino and Mírzá Muhammad

'Alí Khán I have already expressed the measure of my indebtedness, and it only remains for me to thank Sir Albert Houtum Schindler, Mírzá Muhammad of Qazwín, Dr Ahmad Khán, Mírzá Kázim-Záda, and other friends for help in correcting the proofs and solving doubtful points arising out of the text, as well as for aiding me to obtain some of the portraits which illustrate these pages Of the other illustrations a few have already appeared in my *Persian Revolution*, but the majority are new, and represent cartoons, caricatures or title-pages of some of the more interesting newspapers mentioned in this book The illustrated comic paper *Mullá Nasru'd-Dín*, being written in Turkish and published at Tiflis, is not included in the *Alphabetical List of Newspapers*, but its influence in Persia was so great, and the artistic merit of its cartoons is so considerable, that I have included six typical specimens of the latter in these pages.

EDWARD G BROWNE,

Feb 7, 1914

PART I

List of Persian Newspapers, arranged in Alphabetical Order.

Compiled by Mírzá Muhammad ʻAlí Khan "Tarbiyat,"

and translated into English

by

EDWARD G. BROWNE

AUTHOR'S PREFACE

FOR the last fourteen years, during which first the *Tarbiyat* Library and then the office of the magazine entitled *Ganjína-i-Funún* ("the Treasury of Arts") have served as centres of distribution and interchange for most of the Persian, Arabic and Turkish papers published in Persia, and have maintained epistolary and other relations with the chief educational centres, it has been my hobby to collect specimen copies of Persian newspapers, and I have exerted myself to make this collection as complete as possible[1]

In the year A H 1317 (= A D 1899–1900) the Arabic magazine *al-Hilál*, published in Cairo, then in its ninth year, printed an account of the history and enumerated the results of the new civilization in Persia, especially the printing-presses, newspapers and colleges[2] Most of the information contained in this article was derived from Mírzá Mahdí Khán, the editor of the Persian periodical *Hikmat* ("Wisdom"), also resident in Cairo Delighted as I was at the publication of such information, partial though it was, I found it to be very defective, not only in relation to the facts, but even to such particulars as I myself had acquired From that time onwards, accordingly, I resolved to publish a tabular summary of Persian periodicals, and devoted myself with still greater assiduity to acquiring the necessary information on this subject, and to completing my collection of newspapers. The political Revolution in Persia, however, left me no leisure for such work, and finally all the documents, books, and files of newspapers, magazines and papers which I possess were left in

[1] The *Tarbiyat* Library lasted from A H 1316 to 1326 (= A.D. 1898–1908) The *Ganjína-i-Funún* was founded in A H 1320 (= A D 1902)

[2] The article in question appeared in February, 1900 (*al-Hilál*, vol IX, pp. [illegible]). The account of the Press, which is very short, is on pp. 262–263.

Tabríz and Ṭihrán, where they are at present beyond my reach,[1] else I should have been able to make this little pamphlet fuller and more complete

At the beginning of this year (A H 1330 = January, 1912) I learned through some of my friends of the publication at Rasht of a treatise identical in aim with that which I had in view, entitled *A table of the newspapers of Persia, and of newspapers in the Persian language published outside Persia*, compiled in Persian by the learned and accomplished Mr H L. Rabino, British Vice-Consul at Rasht[2] Although I was thus anticipated in the execution of a design which I had long cherished, and for the fulfilment of which I had long sought opportunity, I was nevertheless greatly delighted at the appearance of so valuable a work, and felt myself deeply indebted to the respected author, to whom I at once wrote asking for a copy This he was kind enough to send me, together with a letter informing me that copies had become scarce

Having perused the above-mentioned treatise, which constitutes, indeed, one of the greatest services yet rendered by any foreigner to the literary history of Persia, and is a veritable treasury of information, arousing our admiration and amazement as to how all these particulars could be collected in one corner of Persia, I hesitated at first as to the publication of the data which I had myself collected and which I had with me in the form of scattered notes and memoranda. Indeed I almost decided to abandon my original intention, but after a little consideration, and a comparison of the facts collected on either side, I resolved not to neglect or cast aside this information, of part of which I have personal cognizance, but at least to publish

[1] Unhappily they are now for ever beyond human reach, for, as I recently learned from the author, who is now at Constantinople, these and all other papers were destroyed by his family when the Russians entered Tabríz in December, 1911, and inaugurated a Reign of Terror under which no one suspected of sympathy with Liberal ideas was safe.

[2] The Persian title of this admirable pamphlet is as follows:

صورت جرايد ايران و جرايدى كه در خارج ايران بزبان فارسى طبع شده است

It was printed at the *'Urwatu'l-Wuthqá* Press at Rasht in A.H. 1329 (= A.D. [illegible]) and comprises 30 pp. of 14" × 8½". A brief "Foreword" is contributed by [illegible] of Rasht. Mr Rabino has now been transferred to Morocco.

in some way, even in the form of disjointed notes, that perchance it may be of some little use to subsequent students who may be eager to collect details as to the preliminary signs of the Persian awakening, which will be my sufficient reward

In comparing my own memoranda with the contents of the above-mentioned treatise, I discovered certain divergences and differences in the way of defect and excess on both sides Chief amongst these differences were the names of 29 newspapers overlooked by me and of nearly a hundred overlooked by Mr Rabino, the remainder being included in both lists. And although it was not necessary that I should include in this compendium those with which I was unacquainted before I had read the above-mentioned treatise, yet, with a view to the completeness and comprehensiveness of this table of Persian newspapers, I supplemented my omissions and shortcomings from Mr Rabino's treatise, confident in the permission and approval of the respected author, whose sole object was the dissemination of the actual facts, but indicating in each case under the name of the newspaper in question the source of my information by means of the abbreviation "*S J I*" (ص ج ا), standing for صورت جرائد ایران, "*Súrat-i-Jará'id-i-Írán*" ("List of Persian Newspapers"), which is the title of Mr Rabino's pamphlet Yet withal the rule maintains that "the superiority is to the pioneer, and the first in order are the first in merit."

As has been already explained, the greater part of the material collected by me was left in Persia amongst my other papers, and though I hope in another edition to complete, revise and supplement the particulars here set forth, yet for the moment I publish this abstract so that at least some small basis for further researches may be available

I further deem it necessary to mention here several points in connection with the subjoined text, which points are as follows.

First, what is meant by the "date of publication of newspapers," so far as it is mentioned in this treatise, is the date of their foundation and inception

Secondly, since a division of periods is historically necessary in the recent history of Persia to indicate the successive revolutions and the sequence of momentous and continual changes and great

public events whereby it is characterised, and since a special title and fixed designation is required for each cycle and period, and for each one of the great historical events which may be reckoned as stages and landmarks, and which serve as the starting-points of yet other events wherewith they are correlated and by which they must be judged, and since such division of periods and appropriate nomenclature has not hitherto been established, therefore many names and expressions occur in the course of these pages which need to be explained to anyone who has not carefully followed the successive events of recent years in Persia Thus the term "Period of Autocracy" (*Dawr-i-Istibdád*) is applied to the period preceding the proclamation of the Constitution (14th of Jumada II, A H 1324 = August 5, 1906), the "Reactionary Triumph" (*Waq'a-i-Irtijá'iyya*), "Coup d'État" (*Zarba-i-Hukúmat*), or "Bombardment of the *Majlis*" (*Túpbandi-i-Majlis* 23rd of Jumáda I, A H 1326 = June 23, 1908) to the destruction of the First National Assembly by command of Muhammad 'Alí Sháh and at the hands of Colonel Liakhoff, and the "Minor Autocracy" (*Istibdad-i-Saghír*), or "Cycle of General Revolution" (*Dawr-i-Inqiláb-i-'Umúmí*), or "Great Revolution" (*Inqilab-i-Kabír*), or "Revolution of Tabríz" (*Inqiláb-i-Tabriz*) to the period extending from the above-mentioned Bombardment to the second proclamation of the Constitution by Muhammad 'Alí Sháh after the intervention of the Russian and British Governments, which synchronized with the fall of Tabríz and the entry into it of the Russian troops, and the formation of the Cabinet of Sa'du'd-Dawla (Rabí' II, A.H 1327 = April–May, 1909) The conquest of Tihrán and deposition of Muhammad 'Alí Mírzá (28th of Jumáda II, A.H 1327 = July 17, 1909) is termed "the Restoration of the Second Constitution" (*Páda-i-Mashrútiyyat-i-thání*) Other important events are the "Revolution of Gílán" (Rasht) on Muharram 16, A.H 1327 (= Feb 7, 1909), the "Revolution of Isfahán" (Dhu'l-Hijja, A.H. 1326 (= beginning of January, 1909), the last Russian Ultimatums, the sanguinary acts of aggression perpetrated by the Russians in Tabríz, Rasht and Anzalí, the dissolution of the Second *Majlis* (beginning of Muharram, A.H. 1330 = December 21, 22, etc, 1911), the Bombardment of Mashhad (11th of

Rabi' II, A.H. 1330 = March 30, 1912), *et caetera* Thus the "first period of the Constitution" is the term applied to the period of freedom preceding the Bombardment of the First *Majlis*, and the "second period of the Constitution" to that succeeding the capture of Tihrán

Thirdly, the list of newspapers mentioned in this treatise is not confined to those published in Persian, but includes, besides the Persian newspapers published throughout the world, all newspapers published in Persia in whatever language (French, Armenian, Syriac, Turkish, etc)

Fourthly, in the accounts given of the different newspapers, various details and notes, apparently foreign to the subject, have sometimes been included, which, though not directly connected with the account of the publication of the journal in question, have not been withheld because they may perhaps be of use for the history of the Persian Revolution, and because such information, including biographical particulars concerning their respective editors and their adventures, might otherwise be lost

Fifthly since, in addition to the account of the newspapers and magazines which fills the greater part of this compendium, something has been said of the general history of printing in Persia, and of the more useful books which had some effect on the progress, revival and awakening of that country, therefore I have entitled my treatise not "A List of Persian Newspapers," but "A Page from the History of the products of the Persian Press"

Sixthly, since, in spite of my endeavours to include in the following index as far as possible all newspapers published in Persian, and all newspapers published in Persia in some language other than Persian, it is probable that some may have escaped my notice (since many of them endured but a little while, like the *Sitára-i-Sahari*, or "Morning Star," which came into being and disappeared in Tabríz in A H 1325 = A D 1907–8, and were soon completely forgotten), I hope that should any of my readers know of any Persian newspaper omitted from this list, or detect any error in its contents, or be acquainted with any fresh materials or particulars concerning any one of them, or the biographies of their editors, publishers or staff, or the names of

their editors (where they are omitted), or the dates and intervals of their publication, and other like matters of every kind which have been omitted from my List, he will communicate such information to me as a service to knowledge and history, and to preserve such memorials of the Nation's life from destruction and loss. The same request applies in a still greater degree to the list of titles of useful books contained in the concluding portion of this treatise, since, so far as I know, this sample is the first small foundation in this subject

Before concluding my remarks I must discharge the debt of gratitude and thanksgiving incumbent on me to. . my friend Edward Browne, Professor of Oriental Languages in the University of Cambridge, to whom all Persians and those who use the Persian language, the whole community of Islám, and all lovers of Justice throughout the world owe a deep debt of gratitude, both on account of his fruitful services in rendering accessible to the public and reviving the memory of the works, literatures and histories of the Muhammadan nations, especially the Persians, and of his great and continued efforts, inspired by a love of Justice, in defending, both by speech and writing, in England particularly and in Europe generally, the rights of the down-trodden peoples of Islám against their cruel oppressors. In addition to all the claims which he has on the Persians generally and on me in particular, it is he who has encouraged and enabled me to publish these pages With prayers for the endurance of his help and that the world of Islám may long continue to profit by his services, I conclude this Preface

MUHAMMAD 'ALÍ "*TARBIYAT.*"

CONSTANTINOPLE,
15th of Jumáda ii, A H 1330
June 1, 1912

INTRODUCTION

(I)

THE date of the introduction of the printing-press into Persia nearly a century ago, during the reign of Fath-'Alí Sháh Qájár and when 'Abbás Mírzá *Ná'ibu's-Saltana* was Crown Prince, was about A.H. 1232 (A.D. 1816–17). It was introduced into Tabríz by the efforts of the above-mentioned *Ná'ibu's-Saltana*, while about the same time another printing-press was established at Tihrán under the supervision of Mírzá 'Abdu'l-Wahháb *Mu'tamadu'd-Dawla*. In the latter were printed such books as the Holy Qur'án, the *Jalá'u'l-'Uyún*, the *Hayátu'l-Qulúb*, Practical Treatises on Jurisprudence, etc., each known as the "edition of *Mu'tamadu'd-Dawla*."

Amongst the first books printed in Persia were the *Ma'áthir-i-Sulṭání* ("Royal Monuments") of 'Abdu'r-Razzáq Beg Dunbulí, a history of the reign of Fath-'Alí Sháh dedicated to the *Ná'ibu's-Saltana* and printed at Tabríz in A.H. 1241 (= A.D. 1825–6), and a Treatise on Inoculation for Small-pox (*Risála-i-Ábila-kúbí*), also printed at Tabríz.[1] Neither from my own personal investigations nor from the perusal of Persian books can I find any indication of the existence of printing-presses in Persia prior to this date. And although I have seen it stated in some foreign scientific magazine that printing was first introduced into Persia in the year A.D. 1784 (= A.H. 1198–9) at Bushire, I have met with no trustworthy evidence in support of this assertion.

After this, according to the statement transmitted by certain persons, the *Ná'ibu's-Saltana*, about A.H. 1240 (= A.D. 1824–5), sent one Mírzá Ja'far of Tabríz to Moscow to learn the art of lithography and to bring to Tabríz the necessary apparatus, which

[1] Throughout these pages "printed" means printed with moveable types, lithographed books and papers being explicitly described as such. The word *cháp* in Persian includes both, the former being called *cháp-i-surbí* ("lead-printed") and the latter *cháp-i-sangí* ("stone-printed").

he accordingly introduced and employed there. The well-known Mashhadí Asad Áqá "*Básma-chí*" ("the Printer") of Tabríz (whose father and elder brother were amongst the founders of and partners in the first lithographic press, and who is still living and whose old press is still at work in Tabríz), also relates that Mírzá Sálih of Shíráz, the *Wazír* of Tihrán, sent at great expense one Mírzá Asadu'lláh, of the province of Fárs, to St Petersburg to learn the art of printing, and that on his return thence he founded at Tabríz, with the assistance of the late Áqá Rizá, father of the above-mentioned Mashhadí Asad Áqá, a lithographic press, the first book lithographed at which was the Holy Qur'án in the hand-writing of Mírzá Husayn the famous calligraphist. Five years later, at the Sháh's command, this press and its appurtenances were transferred to Tihrán, where the first book printed was the *Díwán* of Nishátí Khán the poet. As Tabríz was the first Persian town into which the press was introduced, it became known by its Turkish name of *Básma-khána*[1]. After Tabríz and Tihrán it was introduced to the following towns of Persia in chronological order: Shíráz, Isfahán, Mashhad, Anzalí, Rasht, Ardabíl, Hamadán, Khúy, Yazd, Qazwín, Kirmánsháh, Kirmán, Garrús and Káshán. In the remaining towns and villages of Persia the art of printing neither is nor ever has been practised, save at Urmiya, where it was introduced at an earlier date than in most of the towns above-mentioned[2].

Amongst the older lithographed books are a good many military, mathematical and astronomical works printed at Tihrán, such as the *Khulása* ("Compendium") of Mírzá Ja'far Khán, the *Jám-i-Jam* ("Goblet of Jamshíd") printed in A.H. 1272 (= A.D.

[1] The word *chap*, now most commonly used in Persia for printing, is connected by the author with the word *cháw* (of Mongolian or Chinese origin) applied to the paper money introduced for a short and disastrous period into Persia by the Mongol ruler Gay Khátú (A.D. 1291–5). The author's note on this will be found in the Appendix.

[2] Various Christian missions began to arrive at Urmiya in Ázarbáyján nearly eighty years ago: first the English and American Protestant missionaries, then the French Catholics, and latterly missionaries of the Russian Orthodox Church, all of whom, for the better diffusion of their respective doctrines, founded numerous religious institutions, such as colleges, hospitals, and printing presses in the district, where there exist some 30,000 Chaldean or Syrian Nestorian Christians. The Americans in particular have for long possessed an important printing-press for the publication of English, Syriac and Persian works.

1855–6), etc., and some works of history and literature printed at Tabríz, such as the Histories of Peter the Great, published in A.H 1262 (= A D 1846), Charles the Twelfth (A.H 1263 = A D 1847) and Alexander the Great, all three of which were translated by order of 'Abbás Mírzá *Ná'ibu's-Saltana*, the geography entitled *Jahán-numá* ("the World-shower"), compiled by Mírzá Rafá'íl, the *Burhán-i-Jámi'* ("Compendious Proof," a Persian dictionary explained in Persian, compacted from the older *Burhán-i-Qáti'*, or "Decisive Proof"), compiled by Mírzá 'Abdu'l-Karím b Muhammad Mahdí of Tabríz, lithographed in A.H 1260 (= A D 1844), the *Kulliyyát*, or Complete Works, of Sa'dí in A H 1264 (= A.D 1848), the *Sháhnáma*, or Book of Kings, of Firdawsí in A H 1275 (= A D 1858–9), the *Díwán* of Násir-i-Khusraw in A H. 1280 (= A D 1863–4), the three books last mentioned being all in the hand-writing of the celebrated calligraphist 'Askar Khán Urdúbádí, and the *Díwán* of Anwarí in A H 1266 (= A.D 1849–50) Another class of old lithographs which are not devoid of importance consists of Persian almanacs and calendars in cypher published in various towns, such as the cypher almanac of Muhammad Taqí Aharí, "printed in A H 1261 (= A D 1845) under the supervision of Mírzá Rizá at the Press of Mullá Najaf 'Alí at Tabríz", the cypher almanac of Mírzá Báqir of Mázandarán, lithographed in A H 1265 (= A D 1848–9), the cypher almanac of Mírzá Asadu'lláh of Mázandarán in A H 1266 (= A D 1849–50), *et caetera* One of the strangest things connected with the history of the art of printing in Persia from the time of its first introduction until the present day is that notwithstanding the chronological priority of the introduction of typography into Persia, it entirely went out of fashion in a short while, and that for a long time (more than fifty years) the presses of Persia confined themselves exclusively to lithography, until typography again became current and popular after the enthronement of Muzaffaru'd-Dín Sháh (A D 1896–1907)

The earliest newspapers in Persia, before the foundation of the newspapers of the present period which resemble those of other countries and kingdoms, consisted of brief news-sheets confined to the personal doings of the King The writers of these were known as *Waqáyi'-nigár* ("chroniclers of events"), a

post which now no longer exists, although its style and [illegible] *not yet disappeared The foundation of the first newspaper* [illegible] *present form and arrangement took place in the third year of the reign of* Násiru'd-Dín Sháh (who came to the throne in *A.D 1848) by the command and at the direction of Mírzá Taqí* Khán *Amír-Nizám* The first Persian newspaper which circulated in Tihrán in the above-mentioned year was entitled *Rúznáma-i-Waqáyi'-i-Ittifáqiyya* ("Diary of Casual Events"), and was a weekly publication In size it resembled the usual smaller newspapers, like the daily *Hablu'l-Matín* of Tihrán, and generally comprised four, but sometimes eight pages The writer possesses a collection extending from No 7 to No 444, the former number being dated Friday the 17th of Jumáda I, A H 1267, corresponding with the last day of the Year of the Pig (= March 20, 1851)[1], and the latter Thursday, the 17th of Safar, A H 1276 (= Sept. 15, 1859) This was the first Persian lithographed newspaper published in Tihran[2] In the year A.H 1277 (= A.D 1860–1),

[1] It was a weekly newspaper, and was published pretty regularly on Thursdays. The author of the *Muntazam-i Násirí* states that the first number appeared in the month of Rabí' II, A H 1267 (= February, 1851) After No 456 the paper appeared irregularly, until, about No 480, it changed its title (while keeping the serial numbers) to the *Rúznáma-i-Dawlat-i 'Aliyya-i Írán* next mentioned in the text, and became an illustrated paper

[2] From the recorded fact that in A H 1277 (= A D 1860–1) "the publication of newspapers was conferred on Mírzá Abu'l Hasan Khán *Naqqásh-báshí*" (*i e* "Chief Artist") it may be deduced that at that date and even before it there existed another official paper or papers besides the *Rúznáma-i Waqáyi'-i Ittifáqiyya* and the *Rúznáma-i-Dawlat-i-'Aliyya-i Írán*, though as to the nature and titles of these I have been unable to ascertain anything definite H E the *I'timádu's-Saltana* writes: "the above-mentioned Mírza Abu'l Hasan Khán *Saní'u'l Mulk* was not really a newspaper-editor but an artist, who was chiefly engaged in making designs of "the Lion and the Sun," and in drawing portraits of State notables He was connected with the paper from its inception until the control of the Press passed to the late *I'timádu's-Saltana*, and, being an artist and directly connected with the Press, he started several illustrated papers, single numbers of which I possess." In another place he writes: "from the first the newspapers were associated with the Ministry of Sciences, until, in A. H. 1288 (= A.D. 1871–2), while the *I'tiḍádu's-Saltana* was Minister of Sciences, several newspapers were printed at the *Dáru'l Funún* These Government papers never had a regular editor who signed his name to articles, but, while their publication continued, the editors were continually changed. Several were always chosen to write these papers, the choice of persons depending on the caprice of the Minister." H. E. the *Zaká'u'l-Mulk* writes "the late Mírzá Hasan Khán *Saní'u'l-Mulk*, called *Naqqásh-báshí*, was at one time connected with the editing of the Government newspapers, and contributed illustrations to some of them. This was before the late *I'timádu's-Saltana*

the superintendence of the Government Press and the printing of newspapers was conferred upon Mírzá Abu'l-Hasan Khán Naqqásh-báshí-i-Ghifárí, entitled *Saní'u'l-Mulk*, the *Rúznáma-i-Dawlat-i-'Aliyya-i-Írán* ("Gazette of the Sublime State of Persia"), which was an illustrated continuation of that previously mentioned, was published with portraits of the leading men and notables of the Empire, and is accounted the first illustrated Persian newspaper Afterwards, as it would appear, the name and title of this same newspaper was changed to *Rúznáma-i-Dawlatí* ("State Gazette") The writer has seen No 622 of this paper, which is dated the 7th of Jumáda ii, A H 1285 (= Sept 25, 1868), and is described as "printed in the workshops of the

undertook editorial duties." It must also be noted that the title of "Ministry of Sciences" came into use long after the introduction of the newspaper From a consideration of the dates of No 444 (the last in the author's possession), 456 (the last preserved in the British Museum), and No 474 (the last in the possession of *Zakí'u'l-Mulk*) of the *Rúznáma-i Waqáyi' i Ittifáqiyya*, which dates respectively Safar 17, A H 1276 (= Sept 15, 1859), Jumáda i, 19, A.H 1276 (= Dec. 14, 1859), and Rabí' ii, 18, A H 1277 (= Nov 3 1860), and from Rabino's statements that No 471 of this paper was dated Muharram 28, A H 1277 (= Aug 16, 1860), that No 482 was entitled *Rúznáma i Dawlat i 'Aliyya-i Írán* and was illustrated, and that in A H 1277 (= A D 1860–1) "the superintendence of the State Press and the publication of newspapers was conferred on the *Naqqásh-báshí-i-Ghifárí*, and the *Rúznáma i Dawlat* became an illustrated paper' (what is intended thus last being the above mentioned *Rúznáma i Dawlat i 'Aliyya i Írán*), it results that the *Rúznáma-i-Waqáyi' i Ittifáqiyya* appeared pretty regularly every Thursday till No. 456, after which it was published irregularly and often delayed, and that at No 480, under the *régime* of the *Saní'u'l-Mulk* it changed its name and form, appeared under the title of *Rúznáma i Dawlat i Aliyya i Írán*, while preserving serial numeration continuous with its predecessor, of which it was in part a continuation, No 565 of the latter paper being dated, according to Rabino, Jumáda ii, 17, 1281 (= Nov 17, 1864), and still preserving the same name Perhaps it was the same paper which afterwards became entitled *Rúznáma i-Dawlatí*, which, according to the official Year books (*Sál-náma*), together with the *Rúznáma-i-'Ilmí*, placed under the charge of 'Alí-qulí Mírza *I'tidádu's-Saltana*. Of this I have a copy of No 622, bearing this very title, dated Jumada ii, 7, A H. 1285 (= Sept. 25, A.D 1868). In the early days of the Ministry of Mírzá Muhammad Husayn Khán *Sipahsálár*, in A.H 1288 (= A D 1871–2), when the control of the government newspapers passed out of the hands of the Minister of Sciences, and the Press Department (afterwards elevated into a Ministry) was founded and conferred on Muhammad Hasan Khán *Saní'u'd-Dawla* (afterwards *I'timádu's-Saltana*), the paper changed its name, and was entitled *Rúznáma-i Írán*. In A.H. 1321 (= A.D. 1903), when the Ministry of the Press was conferred on Mullá Muhammad Khán *'Ádilu's-Sultán*, its name was once more changed to *Rúznáma-i-Írán-i-Sultání* ("Royal Gazette of Persia"). Finally, a year and a half later, the Ministry of Press was again conferred on Muhammad Báqir Khán *I'timádu's-Saltana*.

State Printing-press in the auspicious College of the *Dáru'l-Funún*." Even so in later days this same newspaper continued to be published, from A.H. 1288 (= A.D. 1871–2) until the period of the Constitution, *i.e.* A.H. 1324 (= A.D. 1906), under the name of *Írán* ("Persia") and again, in even later times (*i.e.* in A.H. 1329 = A.D. 1911) it was revived under the name of *Rúznáma-i-Rasmí-yi-Dawlat-i-Írán* ("the Official Gazette of the Persian Empire"), and used to report the deliberations of the National Consultative Assembly of Persia. The production of the first newspaper in Persia synchronizes with the foundation of the *Daru'l-Funún*, or École Polytechnique, of Tihrán, the establishment of the Post to Ázarbáyján and Fárs, and the institution of passports for Persian subjects travelling abroad[1].

In the year A.H. 1283 (= A.D. 1866–7) another newspaper, entitled *Rúznáma-i-Millatí* ("the National Gazette"), so-called to distinguish it from the *Rúznáma-i-Dawlatí*, was published in Tihrán.

After Tihrán, the priority of which in the possession of newspapers is incontestable, the first and foremost of Persian towns in respect to the publication of newspapers is Shíráz, where the newspaper *Fars* was published in A.H. 1289 (= A.D. 1872–3)[2], and after it come Isfahán and Tabríz, which were the respective capitals of Násiru'd-Dín Sháh's two eldest sons, rivals of long standing, Sultán Mas'ud Mírzá *Zillu's-Sultán* and the Crown Prince [afterwards Sháh] Muzaffaru'd-Dín Mírzá. Thus in the year A.H. 1296 (= A.D. 1879), at the instigation of the *Zillu's-Sultán* and under the care and editorship of Mírzá Taqí Khán of Káshán[3], was founded the *Farhang* ("Culture") at Isfahán,

[1] A full statement of the establishment of passports and the regulations affecting them is inserted in No. 10 of the *Rúznáma-i-Waqáyi'-i-Ittifáqiyya*.

[2] In the *Rúznáma-i-Waqáyi'-i-Ittifáqiyya* of A.H. 1275 (= A.D. 1858–9) there occur allusions to a paper printed in Tabríz, which would suggest that this city had the priority over Shíráz.

[3] Mírzá Taqí Khán was conspicuous amongst the older generation of those who were learned in the new arts and European sciences, and was in his day a profound and accomplished scholar, especially devoted to the astronomical and natural sciences, on which he composed many treatises, which, having regard to the time when they were written, contain a mass of valuable information. His style and method of explanation are especially plain and simple. Of these works only two, so far as I am aware, the *Hadá'iqu't-Tabí'iyya* ("Gardens of Nature") on Natural Science and Astronomy, and the *Tarbiyat-i-Atfál* ("Education of Children"), have been

and in the same year the newspaper entitled *Tabríz* at Tabríz Both of these papers continued to be published and to circulate for a considerable time, and I have seen numbers of the *Tabríz* up to the third year of issue

The first daily Persian newspaper was the *Khulaṣatu'l-Ḥawádith* ("Summary of Events"), printed and published in Ṭihrán in A H 1316 (= A D 1898–9), a small quarto sheet, printed with type on one side, and containing foreign telegraphic news, derived from the telegraphic summaries of current events transmitted from Europe to India by Reuter's Agency, under the title of "Public News," by the Indo-European Telegraph for publication in the Indian and other newspapers, of which a copy was furnished to the British Legation in Ṭihrán and to the Sháh

After the proclamation of the Constitution four daily newspapers began to appear under the names of the *Majlis, Nidá-yi-Watan, Hablu'l-Matín* and *Subh-i-Sadiq*, some of which at first appeared once a week, until by degrees they developed into daily papers Of these the *Majlis* ("Assembly") was the first to publish the deliberations of the National Assembly It was founded by Mírzá Muhammad Sádiq-i-Tabátaba'í (son of Sayyid Muhammad-i-Ṭabátabá'í, the *Mujtahid*, one of the chief founders and supporters of the Persian Constitution) on the 8th of Shawwál, A.H 1324 (= Nov 21, 1906). Again, after the deposition of Muhammad 'Alí Mírzá, several new daily papers appeared,

printed In order fully to set forth the Author's position in the learned and social world, it may not be out of place to quote *verbatim* the long list of his titles and qualifications as given by himself on the title page of the above mentioned *Ḥadá'iq* This is as follows — 'General Mirza Taqi Khan of Kashan possessor of the Order and Red Ribbon of the Second Degree of the rank of Colonel the Gold Medal of the Military College, the Order of St Anne of the Second Class, and the Order of St Stanislas of the Second Degree, both conferred by the Imperial Russian Government, editor and chief writer of the former newspaper *Fárs* and the present newspaper *Farhang*, President of the Medical Society and Member of the Council of Notables (Section of Public Utility) of Iṣfahán, Honorary President of the Académie d'Ethnographie of Bordeaux (Gironde), Honorary President of the Académie Byzantine of Constantinople; Corresponding Member of the Society of Oriental Arts and Scientific Treatises of St Barthélémy, Honorary Member of the Surgical, Medical and Pharmaceutical Societies, etc." Exactly the same list of titles is found on the first page, that is the wrapper, of the *Ḥadá'iqu'ṭ Ṭabí'iyya*, printed in the *Farhang* Press at Iṣfahán, A.H. 1300 (= A.D. 1882–3)

amongst these being the *Írán-i-Naw* ("New Persia"), of the large folio size usual in foreign newspapers, which, in form and style, it resembled. Its first number was published on Saturday, the 7th of Sha'bán, A.H. 1327 (= August 24, 1909).

The appearance of scientific periodicals in Persia in the Persian language began with the publication of the *Rúznáma-i-'Ilmiyya-i-Dawlat-i-'Aliyya-i-Írán* ("Scientific Gazette of the Sublime State of Persia"), which from A.H. 1280 (= A.D. 1863–4) was published for the administration of the *Dáru'l-Funún* (or École Polytechnique of Tihrán) under the superintendence of 'Alí-qulí Mírzá *I'tiḍádu's-Saltana*. Another newspaper entitled *Rúznáma-i-'Ilmí* ("the Scientific Gazette") was in circulation in A.H. 1293 (= A.D. 1876).[1]

The first scientific magazine (*jung*)[2] published in Persia was the periodical entitled *Ganjína-i-Funún* ("Treasury of Arts"), founded in Tabríz in the year A.H. 1320 (= A.D. 1902–3). The first number of it is dated the first of Dhu'l-Qa'da in that year (= Jan. 30, 1903), and it was published with the utmost regularity for a whole year. It was carried on by four friends of learning and culture in Tabríz, one of whom was the present writer, and

[1] As regards the foundation of the *Rúznáma-i-'Ilmiyya-i-Dawlat-i-'Aliyya-i-Írán*, Mr Rabino ascribes it to Mírzá Muhammad Husayn Khán *Mushíru'd-Dawla*, better known as *Sipahsálár-i-A'ẓam*. This is very improbable, since he returned to Persia and was made *Sipahsálár* (Commander in Chief) in A.H. 1287 (= A.D. 1870–1) while Náṣiru'd Dín Sháh was visiting the Holy Thresholds (*i.e.* Karbalá and Najaf), and although, by permission, he paid a brief visit to Tihrán from Constantinople in the very year wherein this paper first appeared, *i.e.* A.H. 1280 (= A.D. 1863–4), was made a Member of the Council of the Empire, and remained for some months in Tihrán ere he returned to Constantinople, at that time he did not bear the title of *Sipahsálár*, which was held by Mírzá Muhammad Khán Qájár. It is therefore possible that the paper ascribed to Mírza Husayn Khán was the *Rúznáma-i-'Ilmí*, which began to be published during the time when he was actually *Sipahsálár*, or else the *Rúznáma-i-Niẓámí* ("Military Gazette"), both of which papers are mentioned in this compendium. Perhaps the founder of the *Rúznáma-i-'Ilmiyya-i-Dawlat-i-'Aliyya-i-Írán* was the *I'tiḍádu's Saltana* himself, under whose management it continued until the end.

[2] The title of "Review" (*dawr*) is applied in Europe to papers which contain lengthy scientific, literary, political or historical articles rather than news of current events, which are generally provided with a cover, and which are not published daily, but at regular intervals of time, in the form and size of a tract or of the sheets of a book. In contemporary Arabic they are called *Majalla* and in Turkey *Majmú'a*, but in my opinion the best name for them in Persian is *Jung* or *Safína*, by which titles we have designated them, for in old books the same kind of records and note-books were called *Jung*, just as *Jarída* is the name of another kind of note-book.

the three others Sayyid Hasan Taqí-záda, Member of the First and Second National Assemblies; Mírzá Sayyid Ḥusayn Khán, editor of the newspapers *Hadíd*, *'Adálat*, *Suhbat* and *Khabar*, Mírzá Yúsuf Khán *I'tisám-i Daftar*, originally of Áshtiyán, who here made use of the signature "Y Y", and who afterwards became *I'tisámu'l-Mulk*, editor of the magazine *Bahár* ("Spring"), and Member of the Second National Assembly, and it soon achieved popularity Although some papers of a scientific character, as has been already mentioned, existed before it, such as those enumerated above, and the *Miftáhu'z-Ẓafar* ("Key of Victory"), printed at Calcutta and owned by the *Ḥablu'l-Matín* office, yet these in form and size were like newspapers, news-sheets and journals, and were not arranged like what are known in the terminology of Europe as reviews and magazines After this scientific magazine, the periodicals known as *Falákat-i-Muẓaffarí* (scientific), *Majmú'a i-Akhláq* (ethical), *Da'watu'l-Haqq* (religious), *Bahár* (literary), and *Aftáb* (literary and scientific) are each worthy of esteem and praise in their respective spheres, on which account their appearance is recorded in the List of newspapers and magazines contained in this brief history

The first satirical, comic, or derisive Persian paper was the *Ṭulú'*, published at Bushire in A H 1318 (= A D 1900–1), founded and edited by 'Abdu'l-Hamíd Khán *Matínu's-Saltana*, who was subsequently a Member of the Second National Assembly After this came the *Ázarbáyján*, published by 'Alí-qulí Khán, known as Safaroff, formerly editor of the *Ihtiyáj* ("Need"), at Tabríz in A.H 1325 (= A D 1907–8), and printed with moveable types and coloured pictures and caricatures[1]

[1] The editor of this paper published in A.H 1316 (= A D 1898–9) another paper entitled *Ihtiyáj*, which, after the publication of seven numbers, was suppressed by order of Hasan 'Alí Khán Garrúsí *Amír-Niẓám* (agent and governor of Ázarbayjan during the time when Muhammad 'Alí Mírzá was Crown Prince) on account of an article in which he had criticized in a ridiculous manner the need of the Persian people in every branch of life of foreign goods, such as tea-pots and the like In addition to this, the above-mentioned editor was submitted to the degrading punishment of the bastinado; but after a little while he changed the name of his newspaper to *Iqbál* ("Progress") and began to publish it again, but it did not last long, and only a few numbers were issued. Wonderful to state, the above-mentioned 'Alí-qulí Khán,' after the suspension of his newspaper, accepted a most detestable service, and became

During the Constitutional Period satirical and comic papers became numerous and varied Such were the *Kashkúl*, *Tanbíh*, *Hasharátu'l-Arz*, *Buhlúl*, *Shaydá*, *Shaykh Chughundar*, etc. Of these the first, third and fourth were elegantly got up, pleasing and worthy of perusal Of this class the satirical portion of the *Ṣúr-i-Isráfíl* ("Trumpet-call of Isráfíl"), which appeared under the heading *Charand-Parand* ("Charivari"), held the first place in this category, and may usefully be mentioned here, for the paper entitled *Mullá Nasru'd-Dín*, which began to be published at Tiflís in A H 1324 (= A D 1906–7) in the Ázarbáyjání Turkish dialect, under the editorship of Mírzá Jalíl Muhammad-qulí-záda of Nakhjuwán, a man well acquainted with Persian customs, and which was one of the best and most entertaining papers of this sort, and, indeed, unrivalled in the Oriental world, inasmuch as it used to discuss Persian matters also, had a very important historical influence in those parts of Persia bordering on the Caucasus and even in Tihrán itself, and the *Charand-Parand* column in the *Súr-i-Isráfíl* was wholly indebted to and inspired by it in its form and style, the writer, Mírzá 'Alí Akbar Khán of Qazwín, known as "*Dakhaw*" or "*Dih-Khudá*," being acquainted with the Ázarbáyjání dialect

The appearance of illustrated newspapers in Persia dates from the year A H 1277 (= A D 1860–1), when, as has been already mentioned, the official Gazette became illustrated under the editorship of the *Naqqásh-báshí* The illustrations of the illustrated papers *Sharaf* and *Sharáfat* deserve mention on account of the excellence of the drawing and beauty of the typography, and the *Ázarbayján* and Hasharátu'l-Arz ("Reptiles of the Earth") on account of their polychromatic printing

The first paper published in Persia in a foreign language was the French paper *La Patrie* (*Waṭan*), of which one single number was issued on the 5th of February, 1876 (= A H. 1293).

the chief and director of the spies or secret police of the tyrannical Crown Prince (Muhammad 'Alí Mírzá), which organization was one of the primary causes of the disgust and dissatisfaction of the people of Tabríz at the institutions of the old, or autocratic, *régime*, and was an important factor in determining the strength of the Revolution at Tabríz After the establishment of the Constitution, however, 'Alí-qulí Khán repented of his deeds, and died early in A H 1326 (Feb, 1908) while actively employed in the National Service



[illegible]

"How shall I deal with the turbaned locusts?"

(From *Mullā Nasru'd Dīn* No. 19, May [illegible] 190[illegible])

The editor of this paper, Baron Louis de Norman, a Belgian, was brought to Tihrán in 1875 by Násiru'd-Dín Sháh, but the inkling of freedom perceptible in the first number proved displeasing to that monarch, and the paper was therefore suspended and its editor dismissed. After this the *Echo de Perse* (*Ṣadá-yi-Írán*) was published for some time, under the editorship of a Frenchman, Dr Morel. It lasted from March 21, 1885 (= A.H. 1302) to February 15, 1888[1].

Amongst other noteworthy newspapers one which is worthy of mention and not devoid of importance was a woman's paper entitled *Dánish* ("Knowledge") founded in Tihrán in A.H. 1328 (= A.D. 1910) by the wife of Mírzá Husayn Khán *Kahhál* ("the Oculist").

The freedom of the Press for papers published in Persia did not exist until the end of the reign of Násiru'd-Dín Sháh, but outside Persia several papers were in circulation each of which strove for a while to awaken and arouse men's thoughts. Their editors had to endure all kinds of losses and troubles. Some of these papers were from time to time prohibited from entering Persia, yet notwithstanding this they continued to be sent enclosed in books or envelopes. The *Akhtar* ("Star") was the first Persian newspaper printed outside Persia. Its founder and editor was Áqá Muhammad Táhir of Tabríz, who is still living, and who inaugurated it at Constantinople in A.H. 1292 (= A.D. 1875) at the instigation of Mírzá Najaf-qulí Khán, one of the officials of the Persian Government in that city, and author of the book entitled *Mízánu'l-Mawázín* ("the Measure of Measures"). It was published for more than twenty years, and was ultimately suspended in A.H. 1313 (= A.D. 1895–6) by the Ottoman Government. This newspaper attained such importance in Persia that the term *Akhtar* came to be applied to the purveyors of newspapers, and that news of current events was discussed in assemblies and meetings on its authority. The light of civilization shone from its pages on the people's hearts, and the taste for reading newspapers was derived from it. Wonderful to relate, this newspaper

[1] The above-mentioned Dr Morel subsequently passed his life in the service of the Government at Tihrán and in teaching in the Colleges, and finally died on his way home to France, at the age of about 55, in 1910.

in course of time acquired such fame in the [illegible], Turkistán, India, 'Iráq (Mesopotamia), etc., that in [illegible] of the Caucasus the common people, who regard the [illegible] of newspapers as improper and culpable, were wont to call those of better quality who habitually read them *[illegible]-mas-hab* ("Sectaries of the 'Star'"), regarding "*Akhtar*" as the designation of a sect.

The *Akhtar* was always in each period of its existence the lamp of all assemblies of cultivated men and the centre round which rallied the most accomplished and enlightened of the Persian exiles, and was maintained by the literary co-operation of patriotic scholars. Thus amongst others who worked on this paper were the late Mírzá Áqá Khán of Kirmán, author of many works, and Shaykh Ahmad-i-Rúhí[1], also of Kirmán, two of the earlier martyrs of the cause of Freedom; Mírzá Mahdí of Tabríz (now editor of the *Hikmat*—"Wisdom"—at Cairo)[2], Mírzá 'Alí Muhammad Khán of Káshán, editor of the *Thurayyá* ("Pleiades") and *Parwarish* ("Education"), and Hájjí Mírzá Mahdí of Tabríz, who was subsequently the principal writer and acting editor of the paper until it came to an end.

After the *Akhtar*, Prince Mírzá Malkom Khán *Názimu'd-Dawla*, son of Mírzá Ya'qúb Khán, an Armenian of Julfá of Isfahán[3], who had lately been dismissed from the office of Persian envoy at the Court of St James's, founded and put in circulation a newspaper called the *Qánún* ("Law") in London in A.H. 1307 (= A.D. 1890)[4]. It was written by himself, and produced an important revolution in men's opinions, while its simple style of writing and peculiar form made people eager and desirous to read it. Several new terms, such as *Qánún* ("Law"), *[illegible]* ("Reforms"), *Usúl-i-Idára* ("Principles of Administration"), etc.,

[1] Some account of these two talented and unfortunate men will be found on pp. 93–95 of my *Persian Revolution, 1905–1909*. They were both put to death at Tabríz, together with Mírzá Hasan Khán *Khabíru'l-Mulk*, on July [illegible].

[2] His title is *Za'ímu'd-Dawla*, and he has written in Arabic a history and [illegible] of the Bábís entitled *Miftáhu Bábi'l-Abwáb* ("the Key of the Gate of Gates").

[3] "Julfá of Isfahán" is so called to distinguish it from Julfá on the [illegible] the Russo-Persian frontier.

[4] See pp. 35–42 of my *Persian Revolution of 1905–1909*. The first number [illegible] was published on Feb. 20, 1890, and it continued to appear [illegible] until No. 41.



Prince Malkom Khán *Názimu'd-Dawla*

Born at Iṣfahán in A.H. 1249 (A.D. 1833-4); died at Rome in A.H. [illegible]3[illegible]6 (A.D. 1908)

passed from this newspaper into the current Persian language, and came into general use. By reason of the incomparable style and expression of Mírzá Malkom Khán in Persian, this became the best newspaper in the Persian language, and, by reason of its effects, has an important historical position in the Persian awakening In short, the writings of Mírzá Malkom Khán have, generally speaking, a great twofold historical importance in the political and literary revolution of the latest Persian Renaissance. Politically they were one of the chief supports of the promoters of the Revolution and the renovation of Persia, and the founders of the movement of the *Risorgimento*, while from the literary point of view they were the sole originator of a peculiar style at once easy and agreeable

After these two newspapers, the *Ḥablu'l-Matín* ("Firm Cord") began to be printed in Calcutta in A H 1311 (=A.D 1893–4), and the *Ḥikmat* ("Wisdom") in Cairo in A H 1310 (=A.D 1892–3). Both of these papers still continue to be published

(II)

Some of the older publications, tracts and books and more especially certain newspapers, apart from other aspects, possess also a special historical importance deserving of closer investigation, because of their influence in bringing about the Persian Revolution and their connection with this matter For in examining the causes and means which produced the prodromata of this Revolution it will be established that these publications also were an important agent, and hold a conspicuous place amongst numerous other influences

It is evident that we must seek the causes and antecedents of the great historical Revolution of A.H 1324 (= A.D. 1906) and the succeeding period in conditions which preceded it, and those who have investigated this matter have detected and discovered the germs of the embryo which was born at that date in a period twenty years earlier. Now as regards this class of revolutionary agencies and influences, that is to say publications designed to awaken the people and stir their thoughts, one may say that these writings go back to a period antecedent to the Revolution by at

least thirty years In this category we include in particular those publications which contained criticisms, mild or vituperative, of the principles of administration, complaints of the current methods of government, and a revolt against the prevalent soul-destroying autocracy Of these the first place, alike by reason of their influence, eloquence and lofty attitude, and in virtue of their chronological priority, belongs to the tracts of Prince Malkom Khán, which were first circulated in Tihrán in manuscript copies amongst Court circles and the notables of the kingdom, and afterwards passed from hand to hand throughout the whole of Persia[1], but of these numerous treatises, which may perhaps exceed thirty in number (most of which the writer has seen) only a few, such as the *Uṣúl-i-Maz-hab-i-Díwániyán* ("Principles of Conduct of Officials"), *Hubbu'l-Waṭan mina'l-Imán* ("Patriotism is a part of Faith"), and his Introduction to the *Gulistán* of Sa'dí printed with the new types invented by him and advocating the necessity of a reform in the alphabet, etc., were printed in Europe and published[2]

After the writings of Prince Malkom Khán, the newspaper *Akhtar* ("Star"), the writings of the late Mírzá Yúsuf Khán *Mustasháru'd-Dawla* of Tabríz, martyred in Qazwín, and the

[1] Were it not beyond the scope of this treatise, which deals only with printed publications, we should like to glance at some of the manuscript tracts and writings of the earlier Persian reformers which circulated amongst the people, and inspired the older progressives, since these also were in their way not devoid of historical importance Of such were the Epistles of Kamálu'd Dawla, the critical observations on the *Rawzatu's-Safá-yi Násirí* of Mírzá Fath 'Alí Ákhundoff of Tiflis, author of several Turkish plays translated into Persian, other little-known tracts of Prince Malkom Khán, certain tracts in manuscript by Mírzá Áqá Khán, such as the *Sad Khiṭába* ("A hundred Addresses"), *Rizwán*, etc, the *Siyáḥat-náma* ("Book of Travels") of Farrukh Khán *Amínu'd Dawla*, *Mahbúb and Háshim*, a pleasant treatise, written in the form of a comedy by Mírzá 'Abdu'l-Husayn Khán *Mu'allifu'd-Dawla*, and the like, which considerations of space prevent us from discussing more fully.

[2] Prince Malkom Khán composed numerous treatises concerning the reform of the alphabet, such as the *Mabda-i-Taraqqí* ("Source of Progress") and the *Shaykh u Wazír*, which were never printed, and also, in order to familiarise men with the alphabet which he had invented, he printed several books in that alphabet, such as the above-mentioned *Gulistán*, the "Sayings of 'Alí," the "Writings of Humanity" (*Kalimát-i-Ádamiyyat*), etc After the inauguration of the Constitution a collection of these manuscript writings was printed at Ṭihrán, but it is very badly edited and contains many errors.



A typical *Shab-náma*, or "Nocturnal Letter," 'jellygraphed' in purple ink, in November, 1906

paper *Qánún* ("Law"), mention must be made of certain "jelly-graph" publications which first became known at Tabríz, under the name of *Shab-náma* ("Night-books"), and which were issued by 'Alí-qulí Khán, editor of the *Ihtiyáj* and some others, and the *Talqín-náma-i-Írán* issued in Tabríz during the reign of Násiru'd-Dín Sháh in the form of the admonition addressed to the dying (*talqín*), of which a garbled copy was subsequently published in the paper *Irshád* at Bákú during the period of Liberty, and which begins thus —

"*O servant of God, and son of the servant of God, hear and understand! When there come to thee the proximate envoys from the Russians, the English and the House of 'Othmán* (i e, the Ottoman Turks), *and ask thee concerning thy colleges, thine army, thy roads, thine arts, thy commerce and thy sciences fear not, be not grieved, and say in answer to them* " etc There was also another "jelly-graphed" newspaper printed at Constantinople under the name *Shah-seven* ("King-lover," the name of a well-known group of tribes in N W Persia), under the title of which was written, "one number is published every forty years," and which used to criticize the old methods and principles of administration in a very entertaining and laughable manner There were also the secret "jelly-graphed" newspaper-like publications produced in Tihrán under the names *Lisánu'l-Ghayb* ("Tongue of the Unseen") and *Ghayrat* ("Zeal")[1], etc, and the *Rúznáma-i-Ghaybí*, written in Isfahán and printed in St Petersburgh This last was ascribed to the late *Maliku'l-Mutakallimín* (one of the most eminent victims of the *Coup d'État* of June 23, 1908) and was chiefly

[1] These publications were issued during the years A H 1319–20 (= A.D. 1901–2) on the part of a secret committee consisting of Mírzá Muhammad 'Alí Khán, who died a martyr to the cause, Shaykh 'Abdu'l 'Alí "Múbad," Hájji Mírzá Hasan "Rushdiyya," Shaykh Yahyá of Káshán, etc They consisted chiefly of attacks on the *Amínu's-Sultán* (or *Atábak-i A'zam*) and his administration, and exposures of the way in which he was selling the country to the Russians In one of the later numbers there appeared a fragment of poetry, after the manner of, and containing quotations from, an ode of Háfiz, which is worthy of notice. Considerations of space do not permit us to quote it here in its entirety, but we give one verse which forecasts in a manner almost prophetic the end of this Minister (who was assassinated by 'Abbás [illegible] on August 31, 1907, the day on which the Anglo Russian Convention was signed) :—

"[illegible] *of thine appetite, why wilt thou drain the dregs of the Russians' cup? For this dark cup in the end kills the guest*"

directed against the tyrannies of the *Zillu's-Sultán*. Mention must also be made amongst others of the *Hammámu'l-Jinniyya* ("Genies' Bath"), which was "jelly-graphed" in Tihrán during the last days of the autocracy. Since we shall consider briefly in the Conclusion of this treatise the printed books and treatises which, from the earliest times until the present day, whether by peaceful methods of progress and evolution, like scientific books or political pamphlets moderate in tone, or in a revolutionary manner, by attacks on the Government and other classes, had an effect in awakening the people's minds, therefore we shall here only mention and indicate those publications which were directly and obviously connected with the last *risorgimento* and the course of that freedom-loving revival and revolution, especially such as explicitly blamed and criticized the prevalent methods of government.

In this category the books of Hájji Mírzá 'Abdu'r-Rahím Tálíboff of Tabríz, and especially the *Kitáb-i-Ahmad*, or *Safína-i Tálibí*, in two volumes, had a specially great effect which cannot be denied. So also the *Siyáhat-nama* ("Book of Travels") of Ibráhím Beg, especially by reason of its approximate coincidence in time with the outburst of the matter of disaffection, and its suitability to the occasion as regards the general disgust and aversion of the people of Persia to the ruinous and scandalous procedures which characterized the reign of Muzaffaru'd-Dín Sháh, had a great effect and won a wide popularity. We must also mention amongst the books which had an effect in bringing about the National Awakening the translation into Persian by Mírzá Habíb of Isfahán and Shaykh Ahmad Rúhí of Kirmán of Sir John Morier's *Hájji Bába*, the Memoirs of Mademoiselle de Montpensier, which were translated and added as a supplement to the Year-book, or *Sál-náma*, of A.H. 1313 (= A.D. 1895–6), and which, on their publication, aroused the extreme anger of Násiru'd-Dín Sháh, who caused all copies of them to be confiscated and destroyed, the stories of Alexandre Dumas translated into Persian, and a few other books translated and published during the later days of Muzaffaru'd-Dín Sháh. But the most important factors in the Revolutionary movement, as voicing the public complaints and dissatisfaction and the disgust of the people

at the principles on which the administration was conducted, were undoubtedly the newspapers, amongst which (leaving aside the *Akhtar*, which was relatively mild) the *Qánún* holds the first place After it the greatest influence on public opinion was exerted by the newspapers *Thurayyá* and *Parwarish*, written by Mírzá 'Alí Muhammad Khán-i-Shaybání of Káshán, which produced results much wider and more conclusive than even the *Qánún*, and in the years A H 1316–18 (= A D 1898–1901) effected a great intellectual revolution amongst young Persians, stirring up public opinion and filling the creatures of the Court with consternation The coincidence of the publication of these newspapers with the Anglo-Boer War is also an important point At this date the *Hablu'l-Matín* and the *Hikmat* held the next place to the *Thurayyá*, and exercised a considerable influence Besides these Persian newspapers, four papers written in Caucasian Turkish, the *Sharq-i-Rús* ("Eastern Russia") and *Mullá Nasru'd-Dín*, published at Tiflís, and the *Irshád* ("Direction") and *Hayát* ("Life") published at Bákú, were not without effect on the more enlightened classes in Ázarbáyján

During the period of the Constitution the awakening of thought increased both in speed and extent, and the newspapers had a great influence and an important share in the renovation of public opinion, especially the reports of the debates in the *Majlis* (National Assembly), which were published in the newspaper entitled *Majlis* and other organs of the Press The *Súr-i-Isráfíl* and *Írán-i Naw* also did good work in enlarging men's minds, and the *Sharáfat, al-Jamál* and the *Chanta-i-Pá-barahna*, etc, in awakening the common people

In a general survey of the newspapers and magazines, and a critical estimate of their respective values, we must state it as our opinion that, in point of literary style and expression the best of the older ones (that is, of those antecedent to the Revolution of A.H 1324 = A D 1906) were the *Qánún* of Mírzá Malkom Khán, and the *Thurayya* and *Parwarish* of Mírza 'Alí Muhammad Khán, and among the later ones (that is, those subsequent to the Revolution) the *Súr-i-Isráfíl*, *Tamaddun*, daily *Hablu'l-Matín* of Tihrán, *Íran-i-Naw*, and *Iqtidár* The boldest in their language were the *Rúhu'l-Qudus*, *Musáwát*, *Nidá-i-Akbar*, *Naw-Bahar*, *Sharq*, *Barq*, *Súr-i-Isráfíl* and *Subh-i-Sádiq*, while amongst these the moral courage of the *Súr-i-Isráfíl*

in criticizing the spiritual authorities, and the *Subhat* in condemning prevailing customs are specially noteworthy.

The most amusing of the comic or satirical papers was the *Charand-parand* column of the *Sur-i-Isráfíl*, the *Zisht u Zíbá* ("Foul and Fair") of the *Náqur*, the literary column of the *Sharq* and *Nasím-i-Shimál*, and the newspapers *Ázarbáyján*, *Hasharátu'l-Arz*, *Kashkúl* and *Buhlúl*

The simplest of the Persian newspapers in style were the *Qánún* of Malkom Khan, *al-Jamál*, the *Sharáfat*, the *Hikáyat-i-Ján-gudáz*, and the *Chanta-i-Pa-barahna*, the last of which was specially important in another way by reason of its diffusion of liberal ideas amongst the villagers and common people, and its success in awakening their minds by means of language easily understood by them

The most firmly established and prosperous of the Persian newspapers, with the exception of the *Mufarrihu'l-Qulúb*, were the *Akhtar* and the *Hablu'l-Matín* of Calcutta, whose great services in later times cannot be compared with those rendered by any other paper

Amongst the illustrated newspapers the finest in point of illustration were the *Sharafat* and *Sharaf*, and after them the *Adab* and the *Ázarbáyján*

The *Tarbiyat*, *Adab* and *Bahar* must be reckoned first amongst the Persian literary papers

Of all these newspapers only three openly championed the cause of autocracy, namely the *Uqyánus*, *Áy Mullá 'Amú* and the *Fikr* ("Thought"), while the broadsides published by Shaykh Fazlu'lláh and his followers at Sháh 'Abdu'l-'Azim, where they had assembled and taken sanctuary in A.H. 1325 (= A.D. 1907), against the National Assembly, if these be reckoned as newspapers, were the most important of the reactionary organs, and have a special significance in the history of the Persian Revolution

There exist also amongst these newspapers two which, unlike the others, though written in Persian had no particular concern with Persia nor any special reference to its affairs, namely, the *Siráju'l-Akhbár* ("Lamp of News") published at Kábul in Afghánistán, and *Bukhárá-yi-Sharíf* ("Bukhárá the Holy"), published at New Bukhárá in Turkistán, besides some of the Persian newspapers published in India, etc

Before the Constitution the circulation of newspapers in Persia and the number of those who read them were very restricted Those which enjoyed the largest circulation at that time were perhaps the *Thurayyá*, *Hablu'l-Matín* and *Násirí*, of which the last had a circulation of something over a thousand

During the Constitutional Period the circulation of the newspapers went up, each of them enjoying a circulation of from two to three thousand copies Thus the *Musáwát* had a circulation of 3000, the *Súr-i-Isráfíl* from 5000 to 5500, the *Majlis* gradually rose from 7000 to 10,000, the *Anjuman* in Tabríz 5000 During the Second Period of the Constitution (July 1909—latter part of 1911), when the daily newspapers increased in size, their circulation diminished Thus the *Istiqlál-i-Írán* ("Independence of Persia") had a circulation of from 800 to 1000 copies, and the *Írán-i-Naw* ("New Persia"), which enjoyed the largest circulation, from 2000 to 2500 very rarely reaching 3000 This diminution in the number of readers is chiefly to be ascribed to the general increase of poverty resulting from the disturbances, in consequence of which it often happened that several readers combined to buy and share one copy One point worthy of mention is that in the latter days of the period of Autocracy the wealthy and well-known Hájji Zaynu'l-Ábidín Taqioff of Bákú, an eminent philanthropist, subscribed yearly for nearly 500 copies of the Calcutta *Hablu'l-Matín*, paying the subscription himself, and arranging that they should be sent gratuitously to the Shí'ite doctors of theology and students residing at Karbalá, Najaf and others of the Holy Shrines, regularly and directly from the chief office This great service rendered by him to the enlightenment of the *'ulamá* and their political awakening greatly conduced to the circulation of newspapers in spiritual circles and societies

The older Persian newspapers, and broadly speaking the greater part of the newspapers in general, were published in the *nasta'líq* writing, and the publication of newspapers in the *naskh* writing is to be reckoned a step forward in the perfecting of them As is well known, the number of lithographed papers exceeded that of papers printed with moveable types, of which latter the *Akhtar* was the first[1]

[1] During the Constitutional period "jelly graphed" publications of various forms and shapes were countless and beyond computation, but in this treatise we have only

Until the foundation of the *Írán-i-Naw* in A.H. 1327 [illegible] 1909) the *format* of the Persian newspapers has generally, [illegible] the exception of the *Sayyidu'l-Akhbár*, printed in India, and the Persian Supplement of the *Irshád* of Bákú, been small, generally of the size of the smaller sheets of Russian paper used in Persia, more rarely somewhat larger The *Írán-i-Naw* was the first of the large-sized Persian newspapers, resembling in every way in its arrangement the newspapers of Europe After it the *Shúrá*, *Barq*, *Istiqlál-i-Írán*, *Waqt*, *Majlis*, *Surúsh*, and finally the *Aftáb* came out in the same *format*

Amongst recent years that wherein the circulation of newspapers reached its maximum was A H 1325 (= A.D. 1907), during which 84 newspapers were founded Next comes the year A.H. 1328 (= A.D 1910), when 36 newspapers were in circulation; then the year A H 1329 (= A D 1911) with 33 newspapers, and the years A H 1326 (= A D 1908) and 1327 (1909), each with 31 newspapers The city in Persia where the greatest number of newspapers was published was Tihrán (148 newspapers), and next to it Tabríz (51), Rasht (25), Isfahán (20), and Mashhad (10).

It is worth calling attention to one small point deserving of notice, and that is that the official political parties, such as the Democrats, Union and Progress, Moderates, etc., only came into being in the Second Period of the Constitution, and were generally recognized only after the opening of the Second *Majlis* (Nov 15, 1909) It is, therefore, not correct to ascribe to any one of the above-mentioned parties any newspaper antecedent to that date During the First Period of the Constitution the only organized party was that of the Social Democrats (*Ijtimá'iyyún-i-'Ammiyyún*), whose organ was the *Mujáhid*, published at Tabríz

After these brief general observations follows the detailed List or Catalogue, arranged in alphabetical order, of all the papers of every sort and in every language, whether Persian or otherwise, published in Persia, and in addition the Persian papers published abroad, which have come under the writer's notice.

[illegible] such as resembled newspapers in arrangement, form and title, [illegible] others also appeared repeatedly under the same title, but they [illegible] most part unsigned and circulated secretly

LIST OF NEWSPAPERS PUBLISHED IN PERSIA OR IN PERSIAN, ARRANGED IN ALPHABETICAL ORDER

(1)

Ádamiyyat (*Humanity*) آدمیت

A weekly newspaper printed in Tihrán in A.H. 1325 (= A.D. 1907) under the editorship of Mírzá 'Abdu'l-Muttalib of Yazd, who, from the beginning of the Constitution, was an object of suspicion to the Constitutionalists and was in league with the Reactionaries. After the Reaction of the 23rd of Jumáda i, A.H. 1326 (= June 23, 1908), he was one of the Members of that unrighteous tribunal of the Bágh-i-Sháh which interrogated, tormented and slew the Liberals. After the restoration of the Constitution and the conquest of Tihrán (July, 1909) he was arrested and imprisoned for a year with other political offenders.

According to Rabino, No. 12, the third number of this paper was dated 18 Jumáda ii, A.H. 1325 (= August 8, 1907), and the eleventh number Ramazán 13 (October 20) of the same year. I possess Nos 3, 8 and 11. Bi-weekly, 4—8 pp., 12" or 13" × 7" or 7½", 15 qráns yearly in Tihrán, 18 in provinces, 12 francs abroad.

(2)

Ázarbáyján. آذربایجان

A weekly comic newspaper printed in Tabríz with coloured caricatures in the beginning of A.H. 1325 (= A.D. 1907) under the editorship of 'Alí-qulí Khán, known as Safaroff, also editor of the *Ihtiyáj* ("Need") and the *Iqbál* ("Progress")[1]. This newspaper was published in Persian and Ázarí Turkish. In politics it was thoroughly Liberal and Constitutional.

According to Rabino, No. 13, the first number was published on Muharram 2, A.H. 1325 (= Feb. 15, 1907), but my copy of No 1, which bears on the outer sheet the dates "1324–1906," is dated on p. 2 Muharram 6, 1325, so that Mr Rabino's "2" appears to be an error for "6." Weekly, 8 pp.; 14 sháhís each number, 12 qráns a year in Tabríz, 12" × 7½". I possess Nos. 1–22, with some omissions.

[1] See p. 15 and note ad calc., supra.

(3)

Áráwôd (*Morning*, Armenian)

A weekly newspaper printed in Tabríz in the Armenian language and serving as the organ of the Armenian Dáshnák-sútiyún It was founded in A H 1327 (=A.D 1909), and continued until the Russian massacre in Tabríz in Muharram, 1330 (=Jan 1912) This paper, by reason of its Liberal opinions, had a considerable influence in the Caucasus, and its entry into Russia was consequently prohibited, and subsequently it gave rise to complaint on the part of the Russians, who continually exerted themselves to secure its suppression It was well known both on account of the important telegraphic news which it obtained from Tihrán and from abroad, and also in consequence of its polemics with the Persian newspaper *Shafaq* ("Dawn"), also printed at Tabríz

See Rabino, No 232 According to him No 119 of this paper, which I have never seen, bore the date October 18, 1911

(4)

Ázád (*Free*) آزاد

A newspaper published in India at Delhi in A D 1885 (=A.H. 1302–3), known to us only through the *Sayyidu'l-Akhbar* (published at Haydarábád in the Deccan), in consequence of a literary duel which took place between these two papers

(5)

Ázád (*Free*) آزاد

A weekly newspaper published at Calcutta (India) by lithography, early in A H 1317 (=A D 1899), under the editorship of Mírzá Sayyid Hasan of Káshán (brother of Sayyid Jalálu'd-Dín *Mu'ayyidu'l-Islám*, better known as the editor of the *Hablu'l-Matín* of Calcutta), subsequently editor of the daily *Hablu'l-Matín* of Tihrán The above-mentioned Mírzá Sayyid Hasan, in consequence of his being the agent in Tihrán for the Calcutta *Hablu'l-Matín* during the second Ministry of the *Amínu's-Sulṭán* (or *Atábak-i-A'zam*), and the attacks made by it on this Minister after the Russian loans (of 1900 and 1902) and his suppression of the newspapers *Parwarish*, *Hikmat* and *Hablu'l-Matín*, was

exposed to the vengeance of this powerful minister, and, after remaining for some time in prison and chains, was banished, and went by way of Egypt to his brother at Calcutta During his stay there he started the newspapers *Miftáhu'z-Ẓafar* ("Key of Victory") and *Ázád* ("Free")

See Rabino, No 15 According to him it began publication on the 8th of Rabí' ii, A H. 1317 (= August 15, 1899) I possess No 1 The yearly subscription was 10 rupees for India, Burma, and the Persian Gulf, 25 *qráns* for Persia and Afghanistán, 25 francs for China, Japan, Russia and Europe, and 5 mejidiyyes for Turkey, Turkish Arabia and Egypt It is very well lithographed, the written page measuring 12" × 7", and each number containing 8 pp.

(6)

Ázád (*Free*) آزاد

A weekly paper lithographed in Tabriz and containing portraits of notable patriots of older and more recent times, founded towards the end of A H 1324 (= beginning of A D 1907) under the control of the *Kitab-khana-i-Tarbiyat* ("Tarbiyat" Library) and the immediate editorship of Mirzá Rizá Khán "Tarbiyat," brother of the writer, and manager of the above-mentioned Library, and Mírzá Mahmúd Khán Ashraf-záda The "Tarbiyat" Library, founded in A H 1316 (= A D 1898–9) by the present writer and two or three friends, has a specially great importance in the history of the awakening of Ázarbáyján, and played a considerable part in the last Revolution The above-mentioned Library, which in the beginning was the first specimen of a book-shop on modern lines in Azarbáyján, but in a very small and humble way, continued day by day by persistent efforts and endeavours, to increase its scope and prestige, importing useful books in every language from every part of the world, and circulating and making them known in Tabriz, so that it eventually became the best, most important and most comprehensive of all book-shops without exception throughout the whole of Persia, publishing every year a printed catalogue in the European fashion. In addition to this it became one of the centres of Liberal political action in Ázarbáyján, until during the Reaction (23 Jumáda i, A.H. 1326 = June 23, 1908) it was looted and burned by the Reactionaries and the scoundrels who followed

Rahím Khán of Qará-dágh In politics this paper was thoroughly Liberal and Constitutional.

See Rabino, No 14 I possess Nos. 2, 3 and 4 The first is dated 14 Dhu'l-Hijja, A H 1324 (=Feb 8, 1907) No 2 contains a portrait of Muhammad 'Alí (at that time Sháh), and No 3 one of Sayyid Jamálu'd Dín, the latter drawn by Sayyid 'Abbás al Husayni Each number cost 3 *sháhís* in Tabríz, where the yearly subscription was 7 *qráns*, and 15 in the provinces and abroad The pages (four in number) measure 13" × 6½" The writing and lithography are good

(7)

Ázád (*Free*). آزاد

A weekly newspaper published in Tihrán in A H 1327 (= A.D. 1909)

Not mentioned by Rabino, and no copy seen

(8)

Ázádí (*Freedom*) آزادی

A fortnightly newspaper published in Constantinople in A H 1327 (= A D 1909) under the editorship of Hasan Náji of Khúy Only one number was published, on Muharram 8 (= Jan 30, 1909)

Not mentioned by Rabino, and no copy seen

(9)

Ázádí (*Freedom*) آزادی

A newspaper published at Tihrán, mentioned without any particulars by Mr Rabino (No 16), but otherwise unknown to the writer

(10)

Ázádí chi chíz-ast? (*What is Freedom?*) آزادی چه چیز است

A newspaper printed in Tihrán in A.H 1326 (= A.D 1908).

See Rabino, No 17 The second issue was dated the 15th of Rabí' ii, A H. 1326 (= May 17, 1908)

(11)

Asd-arar (*The Advertiser*, Armenian) [illegible]

A weekly Armenian newspaper printed at Tabríz, mentioned without further particulars by Mr Rabino (No. 236), but otherwise unknown to the writer

(12)

Astgh Arevelean (*The Star of the East*) աստղ արեւելեան

A weekly Armenian newspaper printed at Tihrán in A.D. 1893 (= A.H. 1310–11)

See Rabino, No. 131, which gives no further details

(13)

Áfáq (*The Horizons*) آفاق

A newspaper published in Shíráz in A.H. 1327 (= A.D. 1909), mentioned (No. 24) by Mr Rabino, but otherwise unknown to the writer.

(14)

Áftáb (*The Sun*) آفتاب

A scientific and literary magazine printed at Isfahán under the editorship of Mírzá "Mahmúd Khán S" of Tihrán. This magazine, of which the first issue appeared on the 20th of Rabí' i, A.H. 1329 (= March 21, 1911), was encouraged and inspired by Shaykh Muhammad Báqir (son of Hájji Shaykh Muhammad Taqí of Isfahán, better known as Áqa-yi-Najafí), one of the most enlightened theologians of the time. It is democratic in politics, and is still issued.

See Rabino, No. 25. I possess the first two numbers. No. 1 is bound in a red paper cover and contains 56 pp. of 6½" × 3¾". Price of each number 1 *qrán* in Isfahán and 1½ *qráns* elsewhere. Yearly subscription 10 *qráns* in Isfahán, 12 elsewhere in Persia, and 14 abroad.

(15)

Áftáb (*The Sun*) آفتاب

A large-sized paper printed every other day at Tihrán in A.H. 1330 (= A.D. 1912) under the editorship of Mírzá 'Abdu'l-Husayn, son of 'Abdu'l-Wahháb. This paper was established at the cost and with the support of the Government after the *Coup d'État* of Muharram 1, A.H. 1330 (= Dec. 22, 1911), and the suppression of all the free papers of Tihrán, and became the semi-official organ of the Government. It defends the conduct and actions of the Government, criticizes its opponents, and endeavours to win the approval of the Russian and English

Legations Its more important leading articles are ascribed to the Minister for Foreign Affairs himself, *Wuthúqu'd-Dawla*. Its editor was formerly one of the correspondents of the *Írán-i-Naw*. In politics it is Moderate

Not included in Rabino's list, which was published before it came into existence.

(16)

Ágáhí (*Information*) آگاهی

A weekly newspaper lithographed in Tihrán in A.H. 1325 (= A.D. 1907)

Not mentioned by Rabino, and no copy seen

(17)

Ámúzgár (*The Teacher*) آموزگار

A fortnightly newspaper printed in Tihrán in A.H. 1326 (= A.D. 1908) under the editorship of Shaykh 'Alí 'Iráqí

See Rabino, No 31 I possess No 3, dated 19 Rabí' I, A.H. 1326, and April 21, 1908 Subscription, 4 *qráns* a year in Persia, 5 francs abroad Page, 11¼" x 6¾"

(18)

Ámúzgár (*The Teacher*) آموزگار

A weekly newspaper printed in Rasht in A.H. 1329 (= A.D. 1911) under the editorship of Mírzá Muhammad Taqí of Shíráz.

See Rabino, No 30, according to whom it was founded on the 7th of Jumáda ii, A.H. 1329 (= June 5, 1911), and was Democratic in politics I possess Nos 1—14. Each comprises 4 pp of 12" × 7" Yearly subscription, 6 *qráns* in Rasht, 8 elsewhere in Persia, and 12 abroad

(19)

Ana dili (*The Mother Tongue*) انا دیلی

A newspaper published in Tabríz in the Ázarbáyjání Turkí language as part of the paper *'Adálat* ("Justice," *q v*) to which it formed a supplement and by the office of which it was published

Not mentioned by Rabino

(20)

Á'ína-i-Ghayb-numá (*Mirror shewing the Unseen*). آئینهٔ غیب نما

A fortnightly illustrated newspaper lithographed at Tihrán in A.H. 1325 (= A.D. 1907) under the editorship of Sayyid

'Abdu'r-Rahím of Káshán It renewed publication in the second Constitutional Period in Rajab, A H 1329 (= July, 1911)

See Rabino, No 42 I possess Nos 7, 12, 20, 21 and 31–33, of the First Year, and No 6 of the Second Year The first is dated 22 Jumáda I, A H 1325, and July 4, 1907. The yearly subscription was 25 *qráns* in Tihrán, 30 in the provinces, and 17 francs abroad, and each number comprised 4 pp of 12" × 7½" The date of the last number in my possession is Rajab 26, A H 1329 = July 23, 1911 The illustrations, which are somewhat crude, include portraits of notable patriots and caricatures.

(21)

Áy Mullá 'Amú! آی ملّا عمو

A newspaper lithographed in Tabríz in the Ázarbáyjání Turkish language, in quarto size as I have heard, edited and written by Mírzá Ahmad, director of the *Basírat* College, and editor of the newspapers *Ukhuwwat* ("Fraternity"), *Ittihád* ("Union") and *Islámiyya* According to another account, it was edited by Mírzá Hasan and the *Sa'ídu's-Sultán* It was published in the year A H 1326 (= A D 1908) by the Reactionaries and members of the *Anjuman-i-Islámiyya* of the Devechi (or Shuturbán) quarter of Tabríz in order to excite the people against the Constitution

See Rabino, No 43

(22)

IbIágh (*Conveyance*) ابلاغ

A weekly lithographed paper published at Tabríz in A H 1324 (= A D 1906) under the editorship of Mashhadí Mahmúd Iskandání, writer of the paper *Nazmiyya* in Tabríz

See Rabino, No. 1 according to whom the first and sixth issues (the only ones seen) bore no date I possess No 1, which comprises 4 pp of 11½" × 6¾", written in a fine bold *naskh* Seven *qráns* a year in Tabríz, ten elsewhere in Persia

(23)

Ittihád (*Union*) اتّحاد

A lithographed newspaper published at Tabríz in A.H 1324 (= A D 1906) under the editorship of Mírzá Ahmad the scribe of Tabríz, known as *Basírat* after the College of that name of which he was formerly director Only a few numbers were published.

Not mentioned by Rabino.

(24)

Ittiḥád (*Union*) اتحاد

A fortnightly newspaper printed in Tihrán in A.H. 1325 (= A.D 1907) under the editorship of the Mu'tamadu'l-Islám of Rasht.

See Rabino, No 3 I possess Nos 1—20, of which the first is dated 5 Rabí' ii, A H 1325 (= May 18, 1907) Contains as a rule 4 pp of 11" × 6¾" Yearly subscription, 15 *qráns* in Tihrán, 20 in provinces, 5 roubles in Russia, 8 rupees in India

(25)

Ittiḥád (*Union*) اتحاد

A fortnightly newspaper printed at Tabríz in A H 1326 (= A.D 1908) under the management of the *Anjuman i-Ittiḥád* ("Society of Union"), which was one of the unofficial *anjumans* of the Constitutionalists Such *anjumans* were numerous in most towns of Persia during the First Period of the Constitution They were first formed in Tihrán, whence they spread to other parts of the country Of these unofficial provincial *anjumans* the above-mentioned *Anjuman-i-Ittiḥád*, founded by the present writer on his return from Ṭihrán towards the end of the year A.H 1325 (= winter of 1907-8), was the first Its organ, the *Ittiḥád*, was inaugurated at the beginning of Safar, A.H 1326 (= March, 1908). After the Minor Disturbance of Tabríz (by which is meant the strife and struggle of the Reactionaries, collected in the Devechi quarter of the city, and the Constitutionalists of the other quarters, in Dhu'l-Hijja, 1325 = January, 1908) it strove to defend the latter and oppose the former, who on their side, aided by the *Anjuman-i-Islamiyya* which they had founded, published in Ázarbáyjání Turkish the paper *Áy Mullá 'Amu* (see No 21 *supra*) in the Devechi quarter In a supplement or *feuilleton* the *Ittiḥad* published a dramatic sketch written by Mírzá Malkom Khán under the title of "Ashraf Khán, Governor of 'Arabistán," which pourtrayed in four Acts, in a most amazing and attractive manner, the governors of the old autocratic *régime* This paper continued to be published until the beginning of the Great Revolution in Tabríz In politics it was Liberal or Radical, and Constitutional

See Rabino, No 2 I possess Nos 1, 2, 5, 7 and 8 It contains 4 pages of 11¼" × 7½". The yearly subscription was 12 *qráns* in Tabríz, 16 in other parts of Persia, and 20 abroad.

(26)

Ittiḥád (*Union*) اتّحاد

A lithographed newspaper published in Yazd in A.H. 1328 (= A.D. 1910)

See Rabino, No 4 He states that only two or three numbers appeared

(27)

Ittiḥadiyya-i-Sa'ádat اتّحاديهٔ سعادت

A weekly newspaper published in Tihrán in A.H. 1325 (= A.D. 1907).

Not mentioned by Rabino

(28)

Ittifáq (*Concord*) اتّفاق

A weekly newspaper published at Urmiya in Ázarbáyján in A.H. 1328 (= A.D. 1910) under the editorship of Hájji Mírzá Ibráhím of Tihrán

Not mentioned by Rabino

(29)

Ittifáq (*Concord*) اتّفاق

A fortnightly newspaper printed in Rasht in A.H. 1329 (= A.D. 1911) under the editorship of Ma'súm-záda Shukúhí and H. Jamshíd-záda It was an organ of the "Union and Progress" Party

See Rabino, No 5, according to whom the first number was dated 16 Jumada II, A.H. 1329 = June 14, 1911 I also possess one number (No 1) of a weekly *lithographed* newspaper of this name, also published at Rasht dated the 21st of Rabí' I, A.H. 1327, and April 12, 1909, edited by Mír 'Abdu'l Baqí and 'Alí Aqá Názim, founders of the Ittifáq College It contains rather a fine poem addressed to Muhammad 'Alí, who was at that time still Sháh

(30)

Ittifáq-i-Kárgarán (*Union of Workers*) اتّفاق کارگران

A newspaper published in Tihrán by the United Association of Printers, who, in consequence of the strike to which they had recourse in order to further their aims and obtain from their employers and the owners of the printing-presses their nine demands, brought it out during their strike in A.H. 1328 (= A.D.

1910) This strike and this newspaper have both a special historical importance, inasmuch as they were the first manifestations in Persia of a collectivist or socialistic movement, for although other strikes had taken place before this, yet these had not the form and character of European strikes This newspaper did not run to more than four or five numbers. In politics it was Socialistic (*Ijtimá'í*)

Not mentioned by Rabino, and not seen

(31)

Ihtiyáj (*Need*) احتياج

A weekly newspaper lithographed in Tabríz in A H 1316 (= A D 1898–9) under the editorship of 'Alí-qulí Khán, known as Safaroff, some account of whom and his paper has been already given in the Introduction (p 15 and note 1 *ad calc*, ***supra***).

See Rabino, No 6, according to whom only 7 numbers (the first dated Muharram 16, A.H 1316 = June 6 1898) were published At the request of the Amír Nizám the name of the paper was then changed to *Iqbál* ("Good Fortune"), under which title the eighth number appeared

(32)

Ihyá (*Reinvification*) احيا

A weekly newspaper printed at Shíráz in A H 1329 (= A D. 1911) under the editorship of Hájji Mírzá 'Abdu'l-Husayn

See Rabino, No 7 I possess No 4, dated Monday the 3rd of Rabí' II, A H. 1329 (= April 3, 1911) It contains 4 pp of 13' × 7¾" Yearly subscription in Shíráz, 6 *qráns*

(33)

Akhbár-i-Imrúz (*To-day's News*) اخبار امروز

A newspaper printed in Tihrán in the month of Shawwál, A.H. 1329 (= Sept–Oct 1911) The editor's name appeared only as 'Alí at the bottom of the sheet

Not mentioned by Rabino, and not seen

(34)

Akhtar (*Star*) اختر

A weekly newspaper printed at Constantinople. It began to be published in A H 1292 (= A D 1875) under the editorship of Áqá Muhammad Táhir of Tabríz, who is still living

See Rabino, No 8 I possess a considerable collection of numbers belonging to

the fourteenth to the seventeenth years (May, 1888–Feb. 1891) The paper came to an end about 1895 or 1896 The yearly subscription was 5 mejidiyyés in Turkey, 25 *qráns* in Persia, 25 francs in Europe, etc Each issue, as a rule, comprised 8 pp of 13″ × 8½″

(35)

Ukhuwwat (*Fraternity*) اخوّت

A weekly newspaper lithographed at Tabríz in A H 1324 (= A D 1906) under the editorship of Mírzá Ahmad, known as "Basírat," who was also editor of the *Ittihád* (see No 23, *supra*)

Not mentioned by Rabino, and not seen

(36)

Ukhuwwat (*Fraternity*) اخوّت

A weekly newspaper printed at Rasht (not Yazd, as stated in the original MS) in A H 1328 (= A D 1910)

See Rabino, No 10, according to whom only 13 numbers were published, at irregular intervals, the first on the 8th of Sha'bán, A H 1328 (= August 15 1910), the last on the 24th of Jumáda ii, A H 1329 (= June 22, 1911), the editor being first "Mu'ayyid" and then "Mawlawí" I possess all thirteen numbers Nos 2 and 3 were entitled *Ukhuwwat i 'Alí* The paper was chiefly ethical and literary, and contained a good deal of poetry It consisted of pp 4—6 of 12″ × 7¾″ Yearly subscription, 10 *qráns* a year in Rasht, 12 elsewhere in Persia

(37)

Ukhuwwat (*Fraternity*) اخوّت

A weekly newspaper printed at Baghdad in A H 1328 (= A D 1910) under the editorship of Muhammad Taqí of Yazd In politics this paper was Liberal and Constitutional

See Rabino, No 9, according to whom the fifth issue was dated the 6th of Rabí' ii, A H 1328 (= April 27, 1910) I possess No 18, which is dated the 4th of Sha'bán, A H 1328 (= August 11, 1910), and comprises 8 pp of 9¼″ × 6¼″ The yearly subscription was 30 piastres in Baghdad and 40 elsewhere in Turkey, 20 *qráns* in Persia, 5 roubles in Russia, 10 francs in Europe, and 6 rupees in India

(38)

Adab (*Culture*) ادب

A weekly newspaper lithographed in the *ta'líq* writing in Tabríz in A H 1316 (= A.D 1898–9) The owner and editor of this paper was Mírzá Sádiq Khán *Adíbu'l-Mamálik*, one of the

"*Qá'im-maqámí*" Sayyids, a descendant of Mírzá Abu'l-Qásim of Faráhán, the celebrated *Qa'im-maqám*, who was Prime Minister to Muhammad Sháh Qájár This paper was illustrated with portraits of the celebrated sages and great men of the world," and contained some scientific articles written or translated by Mírzá Najaf-qulí Khán-i-*Qá'im-maqamí*, the physician After the publication of the seventeenth number it was suspended for some time, until the College known as *Luqmániyya* was founded and opened under the direction of the *Adíbu'l-Mamálik*, when it again appeared under the management and at the cost of the above-mentioned College Only three or four numbers appeared, lithographed in *naskh* handwriting and illustrated with portraits of the *Qa'im-maqám*, Mírzá Taqí Khán *Amír-Nizám*, etc, when the editor resigned the direction of the College He published one more number (the last) at Tabríz, and a little while after the second suspension of the paper set out for Mashhad Some poetical fragments and *qasídas* of the *Adíbu'l-Mamálik* himself, who was one of the most eminent contemporary poets of Persia, were generally included in the paper Of his many excellent poems only one—a threnody in fourteen stanzas—has been printed at Tabríz

See Rabino's supplementary list No 237, where the date of first publication is given as the 15th of Sha'bán, A H 1317 (=Dec 28, 1898), and it is stated that only three numbers were published I have no copy of the Tabríz *Adab*

(39)

Adab (*Culture*) ادب

A weekly newspaper lithographed at Mashhad in A H 1318 (= A.D 1900–1) Its editor was the same *Adíbu'l-Mamálik* mentioned above, and it continued at Mashhad until A H. 1320 (= A D 1902–3)

See Rabino, No 11, according to whom this paper continued from the 4th of Ramazán, A.H 1318 (=Dec 26, 1900) until the 28th of Shawwál, A.H 1320 (=Jan. 28, 1903) The *Adíbu'l-Mamálik*'s proper name was Mírzá Sádiq Khán of Faráhán. I possess Nos 1 and 9 Each comprises 8 pp of 12" × 8½" well lithographed in large, clear *naskh* Yearly subscription, 20 *qráns* in Mashhad, 25 elsewhere in Persia, 6 roubles in the Caucasus and Russia, 3 mejidiyyés in Turkey, 10 rupees in India, and 12 francs in Europe

(40)

Adab (*Culture*). ادب

A weekly newspaper lithographed and subsequently printed in Tihrán in A H 1322 (= A D 1904–5), at first edited and written by the same *Adíbu'l-Mamálik* who founded the two papers of the same name (*Adab*) published at Tabríz and Mashhad respectively, and afterwards by *Majdu'l-Islám* of Kirmán, editor of the *Nidá-yi-Watan*, *Kashkúl* and *Muhákamát* (*q v*) The *Adíbu'l-Mamálik*, who edited it at first, after a while transferred it to *Majdu'l-Islam*, and himself went to Bákú, where he edited the Persian supplement of Ahmed Bey Aghayeff's Turkish paper *Irshád* After the issue of eleven numbers of this he returned to Tihrán in the [first] Constitutional Period, when so many *anjumans* (committees) were formed by the Constitutionalists, and founded a paper entitled *'Iráq-i-'Ajam*, which was the organ of the *anjuman* of that name

See Rabino, No 11, according to whom the third issue was dated the 8th of Safar, A H 1322 (=April 24, 1904), and the 189th issue the 14th of Rabí' ii, A H 1324 (=June 7, 1906) I possess Nos 40, 146 and 188 (all lithographed) These comprise pp 4—8 of 12½' × 8½" and generally contain a portrait on the first and a caricature on the last page Yearly subscription, 24 *qráns* in Tihrán, 20 *qráns* to students in Tihran and Mashhad, 30 *qráns* in other parts of Persia, 8 roubles in Russia and the Caucasus, 4 mejidiyyes in Turkey and Egypt, 15 rupees in India and China, and 20 francs in Europe and America I also possess three of the printed numbers, No 161 (fourth year) dated the 18th of Rajab A H 1323 = Sept 13, 1905, No 184 (fifth year) dated the 2nd of Rabí' ii A H 1324 = May 26, 1906, and No 189, dated sixteen days later These were printed at the Khurshíd ("Sun") printing press at Tihrán, but bear no editor's name The subscription price is somewhat higher than the homonymous lithograph

(41)

Irshád (*Direction*) ارشاد

A half-page Persian supplement to the daily Turkish newspaper *Irshad* printed at Bákú in the year A H 1323 (= A D 1905–6), written by the above-mentioned *Adíbu'l-Mamálik* under the editorship of Ahmed Bey Aghayeff of Qarábágh

(42)

Urmiye Orthodoxyáitá ܐܘܪܡܝܐ ܐܘܪܬܘܕܘܟܣܝܬܐ

A newspaper published at Urúmí (Urmiya) in the Chaldaean (Syriac) language for the promotion of the "Orthodox" faith.

(43)

Istiqlál (*Independence*)

A newspaper printed at Tabríz, and appearing every alternate day, in the year A H 1327 (= A D 1909) under the editorship of Mírzá Áqá of Tabríz, known as *Nála-i-Millat* ("Cry of the Nation"), because he edited another paper of this name, and was called after it, according to a custom prevalent in Persia This newspaper was the result of the assembling under the protection of the Ottoman Consulate at Tabríz of the Constitutionalists and defenders of Tabríz, headed by Sattár Khán and Báqir Khán, in consequence of the continued aggressions of the then newly arrived Russian troops in Jumáda i of that year (= May 21–June 20, 1909), when a committee was formed amongst the refugees consisting of certain men of education who used to take counsel as to the conduct of its affairs Amongst its members were Sayyid Muhammad Rizá of Shíráz, editor of the *Musáwát* ("Equality"), who was at that time in Tabríz, and Mírzá Ahmad of Qazwín, both of whom were afterwards deputies for Tabríz in the [second] National Assembly This newspaper continued to be published until A H 1328 (= A D 1910) In politics it was Liberal and Constitutional, not Democratic, as stated by Mr Rabino

See Rabino, No 18, according to whom the seventh issue was dated the 22nd of Rajab, A H 1327 (= Aug 9, 1909), and the forty seventh number the 5th of Rabí' ii, A.H 1328 (= April 16, 1910) I possess Nos 7, 39, 45–54 Each number comprised 4 pp of 12" × 8½" The yearly subscription was 16 *qráns* in Tabríz, 20 *qráns* elsewhere in Persia, and 15 francs abroad

(44)

Istiqlál-i-Írán (*Independence of Persia*) استقلال ایران

A large-sized daily newspaper printed in Tihrán in the month of Jumáda i, A H 1328 (= May–June, 1910) It was the organ of the party of Union and Progress, and was at first edited by Dr Husayn Khán *Kahhál* ("the Oculist"), then by Sayyid Muhammad Khán *Muhandis-i-Humáyun*, and lastly by Dr Abu'l-Hasan Khán of Tabríz It continued publication until the month of Sha'bán, A H 1329 (August, 1911)

See Rabino, No 19 I possess Nos 8, 12, 19, 39, 40, 72, 86, 88, 99, 183, 197, 208, 213–216, and 234 Each number comprises 4 pp of 20" × 14½" The yearly subscription was 50 *qráns* in Tihrán, 54 in the provinces, and 75 abroad

(45)

Al-Islám. الاسلام

A monthly religious paper lithographed at Isfahán in A H 1320 (= A D 1902–3), and more generally known as *Guftagúy-i-Ṣafá-Khána-i-Iṣfahán* ("Talk of the House of Purity of Isfahán") Its editor was Sayyid Muhammad 'Alí entitled *Dá'i'l-Islám* ("the Propagandist of Islam") of Isfahán, who also edited another paper called *Da'watu'l-Islám* ("the Preaching of Islám"), published at Bombay

See Rabino, No 20 I do not possess the paper

(46)

Islámiyya اسلاميه

A weekly newspaper lithographed in Tabríz in A H 1324 (= A D 1906–7), edited by Mírzá Abu'l-Qásim *Ziyá'u'l-'Ulamá* of Tabríz, son of the *Shamsu'l-'Ulama* He belonged to one of the great families of learned men in Tabríz, was one of the first Constitutionalists of that city, and was amongst those who assembled in the British Consulate on the 29th of Rajab, A H 1324 (= Sept 19, 1906) to demand the proclamation of the Constitution and the signature of the Crown Prince (or *Walí-'ahd*, *i e* Muhammad 'Alí Mírzá) He had studied with success the old and new learning, knew French and Russian, and was one of the truest patriots and Constitutionalists, and an intimate friend of the writer The idea of founding this newspaper first arose during the days when we were together in the British Consulate and were discussing the publication of a newspaper The late *Ziyá u'l-'Ulamá* during the whole six years of the Constitutional Period devoted himself entirely to the service of the Nation, was for a long time a member of the Council of Education (*Anjuman-i-Ma'árif*) of Tabríz, was Head of the department of Justice during the Revolution, and later Chief of the Court of Appeal He also participated in person with great valour in the National struggles and wars with the Reactionaries Unhappily during the last cruel catastrophe and slaughter of the Liberals in which the Russian aggressions in Tabríz culminated (in Muharram, A.H. 1330 = January, 1912) the Russians hanged him with seven

others on the day of the *'Áshúrá* (Muharram 10, 1330 = Jan. 1, 1912) without any fault on his part

Not mentioned by Rabino, and not seen

(47)

Islámiyya اسلاميه

A weekly newspaper lithographed in small *format* in Tabríz in A H 1324 (= A D 1906–7) under the editorship of Mírzá Ahmad "*Basírat*," editor of the newspapers *Ukhuwwat* ("Fraternity") and *Ittihad* ("Union")

Not mentioned by Rabino and not seen

(48)

Ishráq (*Dawn*) اشراق

A weekly newspaper lithographed in Tihrán in A H 1326 (= A D 1908–9)

Not mentioned by Rabino and not seen

(49)

Isfahán اصفهان

A weekly newspaper lithographed in Isfahán in A H 1325 (= A D 1907–8)

See Rabino, No 21

(50)

Isláh (*Reform*) اصلاح

A newspaper mimeographed in Paris in the *nasta'líq* handwriting in the early part of A H 1326 (= early spring of A.D. 1908), edited by Dr Jalíl Khán Its contents consisted for the most part of translations of articles concerning Persia which had appeared in the European Press

According to Rabino, No. 22, it appeared fortnightly I possess Nos. 1, 2, 6 and 7. It was edited from No 82, Boulevard St Marcel, Paris, and comprised 4–8 pp. of 11½" × 8½".

(51)

Isláh (*Reform*). اصلاح

A weekly newspaper lithographed in the *naskh* handwriting in Bombay in A H 1327 (= A D 1909)

Not mentioned by Rabino I possess Nos 31 of the second and 1, 6 and 8 of the third year of issue, the first dated the 3rd of Muharram, A H 1329 (=Jan 4, 1911) Each issue contains as a rule 8 pp of 9½" × 8½" The editor was Muhammad Rizá of Bushire Yearly subscription, 10 *qráns* in Persia 5 rupees in India, and 6½ rupees elsewhere

(52)

Isláh (*Reform*) اصلاح

A weekly newspaper printed in Khúy in A H 1329 (= A D 1911) under the editorship of 'Alí Husayn-Zada The first number was dated the 29th of Sha'bán of that year (= August 25, 1911).

Not mentioned by Rabino

(53)

Ittilá' (*Information*) اطّلاع

A fortnightly paper first printed and afterwards lithographed in Tihrán in A H 1295 (= A D 1878) This was the semi-official organ of the Persian Government, twin-brother to the official *Írán* ("Persia"), and issued under the control of the Ministry of the Press and the supervision of Muhammad Hasan Khán *I'timádu s-Saltana*, son of Hájji 'Alí Khán *Hajibu'd Dawla* of the Muqaddam family of Marágha, and afterwards of his nephew Muhammad Báqir Khán *I'timádu's-Saltana* It continued publication until A.H 1325 (= A D 1907–8) This paper, on account of its connection with the Government, was devoid of useful political articles or such as might awaken thought, and was therefore always the object of severe criticism on the part of Persian Liberals and men of letters Its only importance lay in the fact that it sometimes contained the textual agreements connected with certain State concessions and the like. This paper and its companion-paper the *Írán* were for some time the only papers published within Persian territory, yet notwithstanding this they enjoyed no popularity, but were only forced

upon Government employés, land-owners and officers of the State, from whose salaries the subscription was deducted.

See Rabino, No 23 I possess Nos 15–19 of the 29th year (Nov 29, 1906–April 11, 1907) Each issue comprises 4 pp of 14½″ × 8¾″ The yearly subscription was 18 *qráns* in Tihrán 20 *qráns* elsewhere in Persia, 4 roubles in Russia and the Caucasus, 40 piastres in Turkey, and 7 rupees in India and China

(54)

Ittilá'át-i-Muhimma (*Important Information*) اطلاعات مهمه

A daily paper printed in Tihrán in A H 1329 (= A D 1911) under the editorship of Hasan al-Husayní and Rizá son of Ahmad of Núr (in Mázandarán)

Not mentioned by Rabino

(55)

Ittilá'át-i-Rúzána (*Daily Information*) اطلاعات روزانه

See pp 63–64 *infra*, under No 106, *Tamaddun* ("Civilization")

(56)

Aflátún (*Plato*) افلاطون

A paper printed in Rasht with coloured illustrations, of which one number only was published on the 26th of Rajab, A H 1328 (= August 3, 1910)

See Rabino, No 26 I possess a copy It comprises 8 pp of 12½″ × 7¼″, 4 of which contain coloured cartoons Yearly subscription, 25 *qráns* in Rasht 27 elsewhere in Persia, and 6 roubles abroad

(57)

Iqbál (*Progress*) اقبال

A weekly paper lithographed in Tabríz in A H 1316 (= A D 1898–9) under the editorship of 'Alí-qulí Khán, known as Ṣafaroff, who was also editor of the newspapers *Ihtiyáj* and *Ázarbáyján* (*q v*).

See Rabino, No 27, who says that the first issue of the paper under this new name was the eighth of the older *Ihtiyáj* which it replaced, and that it was dated the 29th of Rabí' 1, A H 1316 (= August 17, 1898)

(58)

Uqyánús (*The Ocean*) اقیانوس

A weekly paper printed in Tihrán in A H 1326 (= A D 1908–9) under the editorship of Sayyid Faraju'lláh of Káshán, the former

editor of the *Thurayyá* in Egypt and Tihrán The real founder, owner and writer of the paper was Mírzá 'Abdu'r-Rahím of Qarájadágh, known as *Hakím-i-Iláhí* ("the Philosopher") This is the only Persian newspaper which openly defended the autocratic methods of the ex-Sháh and his creatures and championed the cause of the Reaction, and which accordingly continued after the Reactionary *Coup d'État* of the 23rd of Jumáda ii, A H 1326 (= June 23, 1908) After the capture of Tihrán by the Constitutionalists (July, 1909), its editor Mírzá 'Abdu'r-Rahím was arrested and imprisoned for a year amongst other political offenders

See Rabino, No 28

(59)

Ekbátán (*Ecbatana*) اکباتان

A paper published in Hamadán in A H 1325 (= A D 1907–8), of which the writer has never seen a copy It succeeded the *'Adl-i-Muzaffar* (*q v*), was under the same management, and continued publication until recently

Not mentioned by Rabino

(60)

Echo de Perse

A paper published in Tihrán in A D 1885 (= A H 1302–3)

See Rabino, No 228, and p 17 *supra*

(61)

Ulfat (*Friendship*) الفت

A weekly paper printed in Hamadán in A H 1325 (= A D 1907–8) under the editorship of Mírza Sayyid Muhammad Hamadání

See Rabino, No 29 I possess No 6, dated the 26th of Rabí' i, A.H 1325 (= May 9, 1907) It contains 4 pp of 11½" × 7" The yearly subscription was 10 *qráns* in Hamadan and 15 elsewhere in Persia

(62)

Ummíd (*Hope*) امید

An illustrated weekly newspaper lithographed at Tabríz in A.H 1324 (= A D. 1906–7) This was one of the first papers to appear after the granting of the Constitution, and was founded by five

or six students of the Luqmániyya College. It continued publication for about 8 months

See Rabino, No 32 I possess Nos 7 and 14, the former dated the 18th of Shawwál, A H 1324 (= December 15, 1906) It contains 4 pp of 12¾" × 7"

(63)

Ummíd-i-Taraqqí (*Hope of Progress*) امید ترقی

A paper printed in Rasht in A H 1329 (= A D 1911), giving particulars as to the receipts and expenses of certain theatrical performances

See Rabino, No 33 No 1, which I possess, is dated 29 Jumáda 1, A H 1329 (= May 28, 1911) and comprises 6 pp of 12½" × 6½" Price of each number, 1 *sháhí*

(64)

Anjuman (*the Assembly* or *Club*) انجمن

A paper first lithographed and later printed in Tabríz from two to four times a week, in the early part of A H 1325 (= Feb - March, A D 1907) See under *Ruznáma-i-Millí*

See Rabino, No 34 I possess a good many numbers, both of the lithographed and printed issues The former begin with No 44 of the First Year, dated the 4th of Muharram A H 1325 (= Feb 7, 1907), and end with No 3 of the Third Year, dated the 5th of Sha'ban, A H 1326 (= Sept 2, 1908), and each contains 4 pp of 12" × 6¾", written in a large, clear *naskh* The yearly subscription was 10 *qráns* (for 100 issues) in Tabríz, 15 *qráns* elsewhere in Persia, 4 roubles in Russia, 15 *qrans* in Europe and Turkey Of the printed issues the first is No 1 of the Second Year, dated the 4th of Safar, A H 1326 (= March 8, 1908), and the last No 31 of the same year, dated the 12th of Jumáda 1, A H 1326 (= June 12, 1908) The pages (4) measure 12" × 6½", and the yearly subscription differed little from that of the lithographed issues There seems to have been some confusion and overlapping in the printed and lithographed issues

(65)

Anjuman-i-Asnáf (*the Trades' Guild*) انجمن اصناف

A weekly newspaper printed in Tihrán in A H 1325 (= A D 1907–8) under the editorship of Sayyid Mustafá of Tihrán, under the management of the Trades' Guild

See Rabino, No 35, according to whom the third issue was dated the 8th of Ramazán, A H 1325 (= Oct 15, 1907) The issue next or next but one to this appeared under the title *Bámdád* ("Morning"), *q v* I possess a copy of No. 3, which comprises 4 pp of 14¼" × 8¾" Yearly subscription, 10 *qráns* in Tihrán, 15 francs abroad.

(66)

Anjuman-i-Isfahán انجمن اصفهان

A weekly paper lithographed in Isfahán in A H 1325 (= A D 1907–8) under the editorship of Sayyid Siráju'd-Dín This paper was the official organ of the Provincial Council, or *Anjuman*, of Isfahán, whose deliberations it used to publish

See Rabino, No 36 I possess a good many numbers, ranging in dates from the 13th of Rabí' ii, A H 1325 (= May 26, 1907), which is No 21 of the First Year, to No 38 of the Fourth Year, which is dated the 7th of Rabí' ii, A H 1329 (= April 7, 1911). Each number contains 8 pp of 12½″ × 8½″ The earlier ones are in *nasta'líq*, the later ones in *naskh*, with some lines in *nasta'líq* at the foot Yearly subscription, 18 *qráns* in Iṣfahán, 20 elsewhere in Persia, 22 abroad

(67)

Anjuman-i-Ukhuwwat (*Society of Brotherhood*) انجمن اخوت

A weekly newspaper lithographed at Shíráz in A H 1326 (= A D 1908–9)

Not in Rabino, and not seen

(68)

Anjuman-i-Baladiyya (*The Municipal Council*) انجمن بلديه

A paper published in Isfahán on the 5th of Shawwál, A H 1325 (= Nov 11, 1907), which continued publication for five months.

See Rabino, No 238, on whose authority it is inserted

(69)

Anjuman-i-Millí-i-Wiláyatí-i-Gílán انجمن ملّى ولايتى گيلان
(*The National Provincial Council of Gílán*)

A paper printed in Rasht in A H 1325 (= A D 1907–8) under the editorship of *Dabíru'l-Mamálik* Four numbers of this paper were to be published weekly, but apparently only four numbers were published altogether

See Rabino, No 37 I possess four numbers (1–4), the first dated the 22nd of Rajab, A H 1325 (= August 31, 1907), and the last the 22nd of Sha'ban (September 30) of the same year Each consists of 4 pp of 11½″ × 7″ Yearly subscription (100 issues), 30 *qráns* in Rasht and Gílán, 45 *qráns* in other parts of Persia, 9 roubles in Russia and the Caucasus

(70)

Anjuman-i-Wiláyatí-i-Yazd انجمن ولایتی یزد

(*The Provincial Council of Yazd*)

A weekly paper published in Yazd in the early part of A.H. 1328 (= Jan.–Feb., 1910) under the editorship of Mírzá Muhammad Sádiq of Qum.

See Rabino, No. 38, according to whom No. 2 was dated the 5th of Muharram, A.H. 1328 (= Jan. 17, 1910). I possess Nos. 2 and 4. The former consists of 8 pp. of small size, 8″ × 5″, the latter of 4 pp. of 12″ × 6″. Yearly subscription, 12 *qráns* in Yazd, 14 elsewhere in Persia.

(71)

Indépendance Perse

A French weekly newspaper printed in Tihrán in A.D. 1910 (= A.H. 1328) under the editorship of Dr. Husayn Khán *Kahhál* ("the Oculist") in connection with the *Istiqlál-i-Írán* (No. 44, *supra*).

See Rabino, No. 230, according to whom only three numbers were issued, the first on June 4 and the third on June 17, 1910.

(72)

Insániyyat (*Humanity*) انسانیت

A paper published in Tihrán in A.H. 1325 (= A.D. 1907–8). It appears to have been the organ of the *Anjuman* of the same name, which consisted chiefly of natives of Áshtiyán and Tafrísh, and was under the presidency of the *Mustawfi'l-Mamálik*.

Not in Rabino, and not seen.

(73)

Ansár (*Helpers*) انصار

A paper of small *format* lithographed in *naskh* handwriting at Isfahán in A.H. 1325 (= A.D. 1907–8). The second number appeared under the title of *Ganjina-i-Ansár* ("Treasury of the Helpers").

Not in Rabino, and not seen.

(74)

Insáf (*Equity*) انصاف

A paper printed in Tihrán in A.H. 1326 (= A.D. 1908–9) under the editorship of Hájji Sayyid Isma'íl, called *Sultánu'l-Maddáhín* ("the King of Eulogists") of Kirmánsháh.

See Rabino, No. 39, according to whom No. 2 was dated the 26th of Rabí' I, A.H.

... April ..., 19..). I possess Nos. 1–4. Each comprises 4 pp. of 11¼" × 6⅝". ... subscription, 6 *qráns* in Tihrán; 10 *qráns* in the provinces, 30 piastres in Turkey, ... roubles in Russia and the Caucasus, 5 francs in other foreign countries.

(75)

Ordú-yi-Humáyún (*The Royal Camp*) اوردوی همایون

A paper published during the march to Khurásán at the time of Násiru'd-Dín Sháh's second journey to Mashhad in A.H. 1300 (= A.D. 1882–3), written in the course of the journey at the different halting places on the road, and circulated amongst the members of the Royal Suite, commonly called "the Royal Camp." The first number was printed at Damáwand on Sha'bán 11 (A.H. 1300 = June 17, 1883), and the last at Tihrán when the Sháh reached the capital on his return on Dhu'l-Hijja 12 of that year (= Oct. 14, 1883). In all twelve numbers were published. The editor was Muhammad Hasan Khán *I'timádu's-Saltana*, aided by his secretary Mírzá Muhammad Husayn *Zaká'u'l-Mulk*, editor of the newspaper *Tarbiyat*, and the writer was the calligraphist Mírzá Muhammad Rizá of Kalhur.

Omitted by Rabino, but mentioned in the *Kitábu'l-Ma'áthir Wa'l-Áthár* ("Book of Institutions and Monuments") amongst the newspapers published during the reign of Násiru'd-Dín Sháh. The details concerning it given above were obtained by the author from H. E. *Zaká'u'l-Mulk*.

(76)

Írán (*Persia*) ایران

A newspaper lithographed, and subsequently printed, in Tihrán, at first every alternate day and afterwards once a fortnight, in A.H. 1288 (= A.D. 1871–2). It was at first edited by Muhammad Hasan Khan *I'timádu's-Saltana*, Minister of Publications, and afterwards by Muhammad Báqir Khán *I'timádu's-Saltana*, also Minister of Publications, until the beginning of the Constitutional Epoch. Some brief account of its history has been given at the beginning of this treatise. Its first number was dated Sunday, Muharram 11 of the above-mentioned year (A.H. 1288 = April 2, 1871), and the paper at first appeared regularly thrice a week. At the beginning of the first number was an announcement, signed by Muhammad Hasan, referring ... entitled respectively *Dawlat*,

Millatí and *'Ilmí*, and their replacement by this paper, which would publish three numbers a week instead of the single weekly number published by each of them. In the department of the British Museum Library assigned to Periodical Publications are preserved (under the class-mark 757 I 11) Nos 1–10, 90–92 and 94–125 of this paper, which I have examined.

This paper was an official Government organ, containing Court news, Imperial Rescripts (*farmans*), appointments and dismissals, the assignment of posts and titles, and especially such personal doings of the Sháh as levées, hunting-expeditions, religious mournings (in the month of Muharram), excursions, and the like, as well as other State functions. Its business was to praise the Royal performances and the doings of the Courtiers, and to enlarge on the security of the country and the progress of the Government, so that this paper, more than all others, was the object of criticism on the part of Persian Liberals and Persian newspapers published abroad. In its early days it contained a scientific part, which treated of the modern sciences, while at the foot of the page appeared in instalments a translation by Muhammad Hasan of Jules Verne's *Les Anglais au Pole Nord: Aventures du Capitaine Hatteras*.

The *I'timadu's-Saltana* writes: "The newspaper *Írán* ('Persia') was first published in the year A.H. 1288 (= 1871–2) when the superintendence of the Printing-press was entrusted to my uncle, the old *I'timadu's-Saltana*, and Mírzá Husayn Khán *Sipahsálár* was Prime Minister."

Zaka'u'l-Mulk writes: "In the beginning of A.H. 1288 (March–April, 1871) the newspapers generally were placed under the charge of Muhammad Hasan Khán, Page in waiting (*píshkhidmat*), who subsequently received the title of *Saní'u'd-Dawla*, and finally that of *I'timadu's-Saltana*. He converted the three *Rúznámas* entitled *Dawlatí*, *'Ilmí* and *Millatí* (which had hitherto been published under the management of the Ministry of Sciences and the *Dáru'l-Funún* College, and the supervision of the *I'tiḍádu's-Salṭana*) into one newspaper entitled *Írán*, which originally appeared three times a week, but gradually ceased to appear so regularly. This paper was first written by a certain Mírzá 'Alí Khán of Ná'in, afterwards, until about the

year A.H. 1300 (= A.D 1882–3), by my late father, and after that by Mírzá 'Alí Muhammad Khán, who lately received the title *Mufíru'd-Dawla*[1]"

See Rabino, No 40 I possess one number (No 934) of the lithographed issue, dated the 15th of Dhu'l Hijja, A H 1315 and the 7th of May, 1898 It is written in a fine bold *naskh* and consists of 4 pp of 16" × 10" Yearly subscription in Tihrán, 36 *qráns*, abroad 38½ *qráns* Of the printed issue I possess Nos 10, 17, 18, 22, 23, 24, 25 and 26 of the 59th year of publication, ranging from July 26, 1906, to Feb 7, 1907 These numbers consist of 4 pp of 15¼" × 8½" The subscription price remained nearly the same, with equivalents added for Europe, Turkey and Russia No 22, dated Jan 10, 1906, appeared in mourning, and contains the announcement of Muzaffaru'd-Dín Sháh's death, and the *Nizám náma*, or Constitution, of the newly established National Assembly in 51 articles, dated the 14th of Dhu'l Qa'da, A H 1324 (= December 30, 1906)

[**Írán-i-Sultání** (*Royal Persia*) ایران سلطانی

See below under *Ruznáma-i-Íran-i-Sultaní*, which is the correct title of the paper in question]

[1] The founder and editor of this paper was the late Muhammad Hasan Khan *I'timádu's Saltana*, son of Hájji 'Alí Khan *Hájibu'd Dawla*, of the Muqaddam family of Marágha, and founder of the newspaper *Ittilá* (*q v*), which on his death was made over to his nephew Muhammad Baqir Khán, the present *I'timádu's Saltana*, who for a long while held the post of Minister of Publications Its chief writer was Mírzá Muhammad Husayn of Isfahán, poetically surnamed *Furughí*, and entitled *Zaká'u'l-Mulk*, father of the present *Zaká'u'l Mulk*

Since certain doubtful and difficult points arose in connection with the earlier official and scientific newspapers published by the Persian Government, after the completion of the original draft of this treatise and while it was still in the hands of the translator, I wrote a letter to H E the *I'timádu's Saltana*, another to H E *Zaká'u'l Mulk* (Mírzá Muhammad 'Alí Khán, President of the Second National Assembly), and a third to Mírza Riza quli Khán, Principal of the *Daru'l Funun*, these three persons being the present successors of those who were concerned with the earliest newspapers published in Persia, and the leaders in all scientific and educational matters, and addressed to them certain enquiries The *I'timadu's Saltana* was kind enough to send me, besides solutions of some of my difficulties three or four copies of some of the rarer newspapers, both old and new From *Zaka'u'l Mulk* also, on the eve of publication, I received a still fuller reply, written after much careful investigation. To both these eminent men I owe a deep debt of gratitude I regret that hitherto no answer has been received from Mirzá Riza qulí Khan, who might perhaps have given fuller information on certain points specially connected with his administration From the communications above mentioned such quotations and corrections as the progress of this work allowed have been made, these emendations being in all cases duly acknowledged. In some cases also, even when no important addition was made by them to the information already collected and recorded I have quoted *verbatim* from their observations, merely in order still further to support and confirm matters recorded on other authority, such as those included in this article.

(77)

Írán-i-Naw (*New Persia*)

A daily full-sized paper printed in Tihrán in A.H. 1327 (= A.D. 1909), of which the first number was published on Sha'bán 7th of that year (= Aug 24, 1909). The proprietor and (nominal) editor was Sayyid Muhammad Shabistarí of Ázarbáyján, known as Abu'z-Ziyá, formerly editor of *al-Hadíd* and the *Mujáhid*. The real and actual editor, as well as the principal writer, was, however, Muhammad Amín Rasúl-záda of Bákú, while the editor, who also financed the paper, was Basil the Armenian of Tihrán. This paper was the greatest, most important and best known of all the Persian newspapers, and the first to appear in the large size usual in Europe. It began to appear regularly during the Second Constitutional Period, after the conquest of Tihrán (July, 1909), introduced into Persia the journalistic methods of Europe, and became a model for other papers. Some of its leading articles were from the pen of Amír Hájibí or Ghulám Rizá, a Georgian who pretended to be a Muslim, who used to write in French, from which language they were translated into Persian. Some of the lighter facetious articles, signed *Nísh* ("Sting") were from the pen of Rasúl-záda. The *Írán-i-Naw* had the most extraordinary adventures in defending its Liberal policy, and during the period of its publication was frequently the object of vehement attacks on the part of the journals which opposed it, so that most of its time was spent in polemics, and it became both the agent and victim of important political events. Amongst these was the publication of one of the allegorical stories of the well-known Russian writer I. A. Kriloff about the Concert of the Animals, and how they interchanged places when they noticed its disorderly character; for it used occasionally to insert in one of its issues one of Kriloff's allegories which had some bearing on current events in the country. So it published this allegory of the Concert at the time when the Sipahdár's Cabinet was continually tendering its resignation, or when an interchange of portfolios took place amongst the Ministers composing it. This caused a great commotion amongst the supporters of the Government, which [illegible]

first in the temporary suppression of the paper, and afterwards in the resignation of the Ministers. Since the *Írán-i-Naw* was in opposition, that is to say was the partisan and organ of the minority (*i.e.* the Democrats), it was always liable to repression or suppression, and was the constant object of the anger, vengeance and recriminations of the supporters of the Government It continued publication, supported by the above-mentioned Basil the Armenian, until the month of Jumáda ii, A.H 1328 (= June–July, 1910), when it finally suspended publication in consequence of financial embarrassments Some months later, however, it resumed publication on the 21st of Shawwál of the same year (= Oct 26, 1910) as the official organ of the Democratic Party, by whom it was managed and financed, under the editorship of Sayyid Mahdí, the son of Sayyid Jamál of Afcha This time it was even more exposed than before to the attacks of its opponents, the Government, and their organs in the press, and finally Rasúl-záda, its chief writer, was exiled from Tihrán at the instance of the Russian Legation in the latter part of Jumáda i [A H 1329] (= end of May, 1911) After his departure the paper still continued to be published by the Party until it was suppressed by the Government on the 22nd of Sha'bán, A.H 1329 (= Aug 18, 1911). It reappeared on the 18th of Dhu'l-Hijja (= Dec. 21, 1911), but was again suppressed ten days later, the last issue being No 121 of the Third Year It then reappeared under the name of *Írán-i-Nawín*, and was again suppressed after the publication of a single number Once more it appeared under the name of *Rahbar-i-Írán-i-Naw* ("the Guide of New Persia"), but was again suppressed after the publication of two numbers. The *Írán-i-Naw's* special importance lay in its publication of the Russian aggressions, its fiery denunciation of them and its exposure of foreign intrigues, for which reason it was the object of special enmity on the part of the Russians

See Rabino, No. 41 I possess a fairly extensive collection of numbers of this paper, viz. Nos. 1–130 (with a few lacunae) of the First Year, extending from August 24, 1909, to June 14, 1910; Nos 41–121 of the Second Year, extending from December 8, 1910, to March 21, 1911, and Nos 1–110 of the Third Year, extending from March 26 to August 16, 1911 Each issue comprised 4 pp. of large size. The yearly subscription was 30 *qráns* in Tihrán, 35 *qráns* in the provinces, and 35 *qráns* abroad

(78)

Írán-i-Nawín (*Newest Persia*). ایران نوین

A daily paper printed in Tihrán in A H 1329 (= A.D 1911). The first and only number was dated the 29th of Dhu'l-Hijja of that year (= Dec 21, 1911) It took the place of the *Írán-i-Naw* (see immediately above) Editor, Sayyid Mahdí of Afcha.

Not mentioned by Rabino, and not seen

(79)

Bámdád (*Morning*) بامداد

A weekly newspaper printed in Tihrán in A H 1325 (= A.D. 1907–8), edited by Ghulám Alí Khán Qájár on behalf of the United Guilds' Society (*Anjuman-i-Ittihádiyya-i-Aṣnáf*) Most of the leading articles were written by Hájji Mírzá Yahyá of Dawlatábád

See Rabino, No 44 No 20 of this paper is dated the 12th of Rabí' ii, A H 1326 (= May 14, 1908) It comprises 4 pp of 14½″ × 8″ Yearly subscription, 10 *qráns* in Tihrán, 5 francs abroad See p 46 *supra*, No 65

(80)

Bukhárá-yi-Sharíf (*Bukhárá the Holy*) بخارای شریف

A large-sized daily paper printed in New Bukhárá (Turkistán) in A.H 1330 (= A D 1912), the first number being dated the 4th of Rabí' ii of that year (= March 23, 1912) The proprietor of this paper is K L Livine, the editor Mír Haydar son of Khwája Qásim Mundloff, and the chief writer M T. Jalál Yúsuf-záda, a Caucasian by origin

Not in Rabino, and not seen

(81)

Barq (*Lightning*). برق

A daily paper printed in Tihrán in Shawwál, A.H. 1328 (= October, 1910) The proprietor and editor was Sayyid Ziyá-u'd-Dín son of Sayyid 'Alí Yazdí, also editor of the *Nidá-yi-Islám* and the *Sharq*. On the suspension of the last-named paper, the

was published in its place. (See under *Sharq.*) In politics the paper was revolutionary.

See Rabino, No 45, according to whom about 20 numbers were published. I possess Nos. 3–6 and 8, the first dated Oct 20, the last Nov 23, 1910 Each number comprises 4 pp, the last being in French, of 20" × 14¼" Yearly subscription, 45 *qráns* in Tihrán, 50 in the provinces, 65 abroad

(82)

Barg-i-Sabz (*The Green Leaf*) برگ سبز

A fortnightly paper lithographed in Ardabíl (Ázarbáyján) in A H 1326 (= A D 1908) under the editorship of Áqá Mír Ahmad

See Rabino, No 46 I possess Nos 4, 7, 9, 10 and 12, the first dated the 27th of Rabí' ii, A H 1326 (= May 29, 1908) Each number comprises 4 pp of 11" × 8¼", lithographed in a fine, large *naskh* Yearly subscription, 10 *qrans* in Ardabíl, 15 elsewhere in Persia, 4 roubles in Russia, 40 piastres in Turkey, 10 francs in Europe

(83)

Bishárat (*Good Tidings*) بشارت

A paper printed in Mashhad (Khurásán) in A H 1324 (= A D. 1906–7) under the editorship of Shaykh Muhammad 'Alí, which continued publication for more than two years

See Rabino, No 47, according to whom it was a weekly No 4 was dated the 20th of Dhu'l Qa'da, A H 1324 (= Feb 4, 1907), and publication appears to have ended in A H 1326 (1908) I possess Nos 4, 13, 14, 18, 22 Each number contains 4 pp of 13" × 6½" Yearly subscription, in Mashhad 12 *qráns*, elsewhere in Persia 15 *qráns*, Russia and Turkistan 4 roubles, India and China 24 *qrans*, Afghanistán 20 *qráns*, Turkey and Egypt 20 *qrans*

(84)

Basírat (*Insight*) بصيرت

A weekly newspaper published in Tihrán in A H 1325 (= A.D 1907).

Not in Rabino, nor do I possess a copy

(85)

Baladu'l-Amín (*The Secure Land*) بلد الامين

A weekly paper lithographed in Mashhad early in A.H 1328 (= Jan.–Feb. 1910) under the editorship of Mírzá Muhammad Sádiq.

See Rabino, No. 48. I possess Nos. 2, 6, 12, 15, 17 No. 2 is dated the 28th of [illegible] A.H. 1328 (= Feb [illegible] 1910). According to Rabino the paper was

[illegible] Municipal Council of Mashhad [illegible] the 19th of Jumádá ii, A.H. 1325 (= July 30, 1907). [illegible] 13″ × 7½″ and is lithographed in a large, clear naskh. Yearly subscription [illegible] in Mashhad, 12 *qráns* elsewhere in Persia, 15 *qráns* abroad

(86)

Baladiyya (*Municipality*).

A paper printed in Tihrán in A.H. 1325 (= A.D. 1907).

See Rabino, No. 49, according to whom it appeared irregularly, under [illegible] editors. I possess Nos 7, 10, 16, 21, 43, 46, 47. No. 7 is dated the [illegible] of Rabí' ii, A.H. 1325 (= May 16, 1907), and comprises 4 pp of 11½″ × 6¾″. Yearly subscription, 18 *qráns* in Tihrán, 23 *qráns* elsewhere in Persia, 5 roubles in [illegible] and the Caucasus, 9 rupees in India, 3 mejidiyyés in Turkey and Egypt, [illegible] 12 francs in Europe.

(87)

Baladiyya (*Municipality*).

A weekly newspaper lithographed in Tabríz in A.H. [illegible] (= A.D. 1909) under the editorship of Ahmad Mírzá, which published the deliberations of that Municipality, under whose management it was produced.

Not in Rabino, nor do I possess a copy.

(88)

Baladiyya-i-Isfahán (*The Municipality of Isfahán*) بلدیهٔ اصفهان

A weekly newspaper lithographed in Isfahán in the latter part of A.H. 1325 (= January, 1908).

See Rabino, No. 50, who describes it as bi-weekly, and states that it was first published on the 4th of Dhu'l-Hijja, A.H. 1325 (= Jan 8, 1908). This is in fact the date borne by No. 1, which I possess. It comprises 4 pp. of 13½″ × [illegible], and is lithographed in a large, clear *naskh*. Yearly subscription, 25 *qráns* in Isfahán, 30 *qráns* elsewhere in Persia, and 32 *qráns* abroad.

(89)

Bú Qalamún (*The Chameleon*, or *Turkey*).

A small-sized paper printed in Tabríz in A.H. 1327 (= A.D. [illegible]), under the editorship of Mírzá Mahmúd Ghaní-záda of Salmás, who was also editor of the *Anjuman*, *Faryád* and *Shafaq*.

See Rabino, No. 51, according to whom the second issue was dated [illegible] A.H. 1327 (= August [illegible], 1909). I do not possess a copy.

(90)

[illegible]

[illegible] weekly illustrated comic paper lithographed in Tihrán in the early part of A.H. 1329 (= A.D. 1911) under the editorship first of Shaykh 'Alí 'Iráqí, and afterwards of Asadu'lláh Khán [illegible] Farsí." This paper defended the methods of the Democratic Party and attacked and criticized the antagonistic parties and the Government, just as in like manner the paper *Tanbíh* (q.v.) supported the Moderates (*I'tidáliyyún*), and finally the paper *Shaykh Chughundur* (q v) was similarly connected with the Party of Union and Progress and defended them

See Rabino, No. 52 I possess Nos 6, 10, 13, 29 and 34 The first is dated the first of Jumáda I, A H 1329 (= May 20, 1911) Each number comprises 4 pp. of [illegible], the first and last pages being occupied by illustrations. Each number, [illegible] (ۥ qrán)

(91)

Bídárí (*Wakefulness*) بیداری

A paper lithographed in Tihrán every other day in A.H 1325 (= A.D. 1907) under the editorship of *Fathu'l-Mamálik*

See Rabino, No 53, according to whom it began on the 23rd of Jumáda ii, A.H. 1325 (= August 3, 1907) I possess Nos 1 and 3 Each number comprises 4 pp. of 12" × 7", and is lithographed in *ta'líq* Yearly subscription, 30 *qráns*.

(92)

Páy-i-Takht (*The Capital*) پای تخت

A weekly newspaper lithographed in Tihran in A H 1329 (= A.D. 1911).

Not mentioned by Rabino, and not seen

(93)

Parwána (*The Moth*). پروانه

A paper printed in Isfahán in A.H 1328 (= A.D. 1910) under the editorship of Sayyid Hasan Mú'min-záda. Forty numbers [illegible] were published, the first on the 7th of Shawwál, A.H. 1328 (= [illegible] 1910).

[illegible], No. 55, who adds that in politics the paper was [illegible] [illegible] 10, 18 and 21, the first dated the 12th of Dhu'l-Hijja, A.H. [illegible] [illegible] Each number comprises 8 pp. of 13" × 6½". Yearly [illegible]

(94)

Parwarish (*Education*) پرورش

A weekly newspaper printed in Cairo (Egypt) in the early part of A.H 1318 (= A.D 1900–1), the first number dated the 10th of Safar of that year (= June 9, 1900) The owner, editor and writer was Mírzá 'Alí Muhammad Khán of Káshán, the brother of [Mírzá 'Abdu'l-Husayn Khán] *Wahídu'l-Mulk*, who was a Member of the Second *Majlis* This was one of the best Persian newspapers, and as regards influence amongst the young Persians held the first place, both exciting the emotions and compelling the affections of the Persian public In style and tone, moreover, it had a peculiar quality of beauty It took the place of the *Thurayyá* ("Pleiades") after the dissolution of the partnership which previously existed between Mírzá 'Alí Muhammad Khán and Sayyid Faraju'lláh of Káshán The fiery utterances and sweet eloquence of this paper had an extraordinary effect on public opinion, and in truth effected an intellectual revolution Some of its special articles, such as "the Daughter of Hájji Felt-maker" (*Dukhtar-i-Hájji Namad-mál*), "Fancy's Dream" (*Khwáb-i-Khayál*), "A Topic of Conversation" (*Maqála-i-Musáhaba*), "Arguing in a circle" (*Dawr u Tasalsul*), and "the Court of Judgement, or, before the Judge of Conscience" (*Majlis-i-Muhákama, yá Mahzar-i-Qázi-yi-Wijdán*) may be taken as literary models in the Persian language After the *Qánún*, it was the freest in its language of all the Persian papers during the period of Autocracy, and by reason of the vehemence of its utterances, and its violent attacks on the methods of administration of the Government of Persia, particularly its criticisms on the unpatriotic actions and policy of the *Amínu's-Sultán*, it became an object of hatred to the Court and of affection to the people In consequence of an article comparing the merits of the *Amínu'd-Dawla* and *Amínu's-Sultán* which was published in No 23 of the paper, it was prohibited from entering Persia, but it still continued publication until the 33rd number, and by secret channels continued to find entrance into Persia. In the last number appeared a famous article, entitled "Lament for the Broken Pen '*for what crime* … [illegible]

which had a special importance. After the suppression of the paper, Mírzá 'Alí Muhammad Khán was for some time ill with consumption, of which he finally died in A.H 1320 (= A.D. 1902–3) at Ḥalwán near Cairo See also under *Thurayyá*

See Rabino, No 55 I possess Nos 11–19 of this paper Each number comprises 16 pp. of 9½" × 6" Yearly subscription, 40 *qráns* in Persia, 10 roubles in the Caucasus, 4 mejidiyyes in Turkey, 25 francs in Europe, and 12 rupees in India and China. Of the articles specially mentioned above, *Dawr u Tasalsul* occurs in No 19 and deals with the exactions practised by the Persian Consuls on the Persian pilgrims to Mecca, and the *Majlis i Muhákama* occurs in No 18

(95)

Pulís-i-Írán (*The Police of Persia*) پلیس ایران

A daily newspaper printed in Tihrán in A H 1327 (=A.D 1909), edited by Sayyid Jawád of Tabríz and owned by Murtazá-qulí Khán *Mu'ayyidu'l-Mamálik* the Qájár This was one of the papers connected with the party who were in the majority, and defended the policy of the Government, that is of the "Moderates" (*I'tidáliyyun*)

See Rabino, No 56 I possess a good many numbers, the first being No 1, dated the 4th of Dhu'l Qa'da, A H 1327 (=November 18, 1909), and the last No. 480, dated the 20th of Muharram, A H 1329 (=Jan 21, 1911) The size of the paper was originally 14½" × 11", but it was afterwards enlarged to 18" × 12½" Yearly subscription, 35 *qráns* in Tihrán, 40 *qráns* elsewhere in Persia, 10 roubles in Russia, 25 francs in Europe, and £T1 in Turkey, but the price was subsequently raised.

(96)

Payámbar-i-Bákhtar (*The Prophet of the West*) پیامبر باختر

A small-sized magazine published in Washington (U S A) once every 19 days by the Bahá'ís of America for the propagation of the Bahá'í religion Its name was afterwards changed to the "Star of the West" (*Najm-i-Bákhtar*)

See Rabino, No 57. I possess the "Star of the West," Vol ii, Nos. 1–4, 7–8, and 14–16, the first dated March 21, 1911, the last Dec. 31 of the same year The magazine is bilingual, the greater part (about two thirds) being printed in English, and the remainder lithographed in Persian In connection with the same "Persian-American Educational Society" was published in October, 1911, the first number of another monthly magazine (entirely in English) entitled the "Illustrated Monthly Bulletin of the Persian American Educational Society," of which I possess Nos. 1, 5 and [illegible], the last dated May–June, 1912.

(97)

[illegible] (*[illegible]*).

A paper published in Tihrán in A.H. 1329 (= A.D. 1911) under the editorship of Mírzá Haydar 'Alí Kamálí. It was the organ of the then recently formed party of the *Ijtimá'iyyún-i-[illegible]*.

Not mentioned by Rabino, and not seen

(98)

Táza Bahár (*Early Spring*)

A weekly paper printed in Mashhad in A.H. 1329 (= A.D. 1911) under the editorship of the Poet Laureate (*Maliku'sh-Shu'ará*) or "M. Bahár," which replaced the *Naw Bahár* (*q.v.*) on its suppression. In politics it was Democrat.

Not in Rabino. I possess No. 3, dated the 22nd of Dhu'l Hijja, A.H. 1329 (= December, 14, 1911). It comprises 4 pp. of 16" × 10½". Yearly subscription, 25 *qráns* in Mashhad, 30 *qráns* elsewhere in Persia, and 6 roubles abroad.

(99)

Tabríz.

A weekly paper published in Tabríz in A.H. 1296 (= A.D. 1879) under the editorship of a certain Kamál. No. 3, which I possess, is dated Thursday, Muharram 25, A.H. 1297 (= Jan. 8, 1880), corresponding with the Year of the Hare. Numbers belonging to the third year of publication have been seen. Mention has been made of it in the Introduction. (See p. 13, *supra*.)

Not in Rabino.

(100)

Tabríz.

A paper printed three times a week in Tabríz towards the end of A.H. 1328 (= A.D. 1910) under the editorship of Mírzá [illegible] Yakání, and subsequently of Mírzá Husayn *Tabrízí*, known as "Kamál," formerly editor of the paper *Kamál* ("Perfection"). The publisher of this paper was Karbalá'í [illegible] known as *Fishangchí* ("the Cartridge-seller"), a Member of the Tabríz Provincial Council. This paper was suppressed with the other papers published in Tabríz at the time of the [illegible] of Muharram, A.H. 1330 (= Christmas, 1911).

تلگراف امری به خوی

احتمالا … ۱۳۲۷ (علی)

تلگراف امورات مراسله … خان

از اهالی حلقه ساری بریاست ماليه

… الدوله را …

از اهالی حاجیه بریاست مالیه

تلگراف از طهران به تبریز

… ۶۷۸ … ریاست وزرا

سواد راپورت … اداره …

… ۱۳۲۸ …

U NOM DE LA LIBERTE DE LA PRESSE

LES RUSSES en PERSE

… Chémal

A F

[illegible] The politics of the paper were [illegible] [illegible] Constitutionalist.

[illegible] No. 98. I possess Nos. 71 and 89, the former dated the 23rd of [illegible] 1329 (= June 21, 1911), and the latter the 7th of Sha'bán (August 4) [illegible] Each number comprises 4 pp of 15½" × 9½" Yearly subscription, [illegible] qráns, elsewhere in Persia 30 qráns, abroad 42 qráns

(101)

[illegible] (*Religiousness*). دینداری

A weekly religious paper printed in Tihrán in A.H. 1325 (= A.D. 1907) under the editorship of Mullá Ṣádiq, entitled *Fakhru'l-Islám* ("the Pride of Islám"), originally a Chaldaean or Syrian Christian of Urmiya, who was converted to Islám (*Jadídu'l-Islám*).

See Rabino, No 59 I possess No 11 of the first year, dated the 1st of Sha'bán, A.H. 1325 (= Sept. 9, 1907), and No. 2 of the third year, dated the 16th of Rajab, A.H. 1327 (= August 3, 1909) Each number comprises 4 pp of 12" × 6¾" Yearly subscription, 12 qráns in Tihrán, 15 qráns elsewhere in Persia, 4 roubles in Russia and the Caucasus, and 7 rupees in India

(102)

Tarbiyat (*Education*) تربیت

A weekly paper lithographed in very fine *nasta'líq* in Tihrán in A.H. 1314 (= A.D 1896–7) Its owner, editor and chief writer was Mírzá Muhammad Husayn of Isfahán, entitled *Zaká'u'l-Mulk* and poetically surnamed *Furúghí*, author of numerous works on history and literature, father of the present Mírzá Muhammad 'Alí Khán *Zaká'u'l-Mulk*, who was a member of the Second National Assembly This paper had a special literary importance in regard to its style, composition, and quality of eloquence, for the late *Zaká'u'l-Mulk*, who was in his time one of the first men of letters and poets of Persia, used frequently to publish his poems in it, for which reason amongst others it held a high and distinguished place amongst the papers of the period of Autocracy, and [illegible] a considerable influence, though its practice of flattering [illegible] contemporary notables detracted from its literary [illegible]. Its celebrity was chiefly due to its controversy with the [illegible] *Thurayyá* ("Pleiades," q v.) about the Persian Calendar [illegible] [illegible]. In consequence of the well-founded [illegible] by Mírzá 'Alí Muhammad Khán of Káshán

the editor of the *Thurayyá*, against the absurdities of the Persian Calendar, the *Tarbiyat* devoted two of its issues from beginning to end to a defence of Hájji Najmu'd-Dawla and an attack on the *Thurayyá*. This attack gave occasion to the admirers of the *Thurayyá* to express their feelings and to pour forth their objections, and many articles in refutation of the *Tarbiyat* from all parts of Persia and from abroad appeared in the *Thurayyá* and other papers. Translations of useful treatises [composed in other languages] often appeared as *feuilletons* (*pá waraqí*) at the foot of the pages of the *Tarbiyat*. Amongst these were "*la Chaumière indienne*" (*Kulba-i-Hindí*) of Bernardin de Saint-Pierre, "Love and Virtue" (*'Ishq u 'Iffat*), a translation of Chateaubriand's *Aventures du dernier des Abencérages*, etc. The *Tarbiyat* continued publication until the end of the period of Autocracy and almost until the Constitutional Period.

See Rabino, No. 16, according to whom this paper began on the 11th of Rajab, A.H. 1314 (=Dec. 16, 1896). It was still going on (No. 424) on the 4th of Dhu'l Qa'da, A.H. 1324 (=Dec. 20, 1906). I possess a good many numbers, of which the first is No. 58 (second year), dated the 26th of Sha'ban, A.H. 1315 (=Jan. 20, 1898), and the last No. 433, dated the 22nd of Muharram, A.H. 1325 (=March 7, 1907). Each number comprises 8 pp. of 12"×6¾", the pages being numbered continuously with a view to binding. Yearly subscription, 20 *qráns* in Tihrán, 25 *qráns* elsewhere in Persia, 5 roubles in Russia, 10 rupees in India, and 12 francs in Europe, Turkey and Egypt.

(103)

Taraqqí (*Progress*) ترقی

A fortnightly paper printed in Tihrán in A.H. 1325 (=A.D. 1907) under the editorship of Mírzá Muhammad 'Alí Khán of Tihrán, known as "Islámbúlí" ("the Constantinopolitan"), who was one of those imprisoned in the Bágh-i-Sháh after the Reactionary *Coup d'État* of the 23rd of Jumáda i, A.H. 1326 (=June 23, 1908).

See Rabino, No. 61, according to whom the publication of the paper began on the 17th of Safar, A.H. 1325 (=April 1, 1907). I possess Nos. 16, 21 and 22. Each number comprises 4 pp. of 12"×6¾". The yearly subscription was 12 *qráns* for Tihrán, 15 for other parts of Persia, 5 roubles for Russia and the Caucasus, 3 mejidiyyés for Turkey, and 10 rupees for India.

(104)

Tashwíq (*Encouragement*) تشویق

A weekly paper printed in Tihrán in A.H. 1325 (=A.D. 1907) under the editorship of Mírzá Sayyid 'Alí Tabátabá'í. This

paper, like many others, used to attempt a feeble imitation of the *Charand-Parand* ("Charivari") of the *Súr-i Isráfíl*, and published a comic or satiric section under the title of *Shirr-Wirr*

See Rabino, No 62, according to whom only 8 issues of the paper were published, the first on the 19th of Sha'bán, A H 1325 (= Sept 27, 1907), and the last on the 26th of Shawwál (= Dec 2) of the same year I possess Nos 2-8 Each number comprises 8 pp of 12½" × 6⅝" Yearly subscription, 15 *qráns* in Tihrán, 20 *qráns* in other parts of Persia, and 25 *qráns* abroad

(105)

Tafakkur (*Thought*) تفکّر

A weekly paper printed in Tihrán in A H 1325 (= A D 1907) under the editorship of *Nazimu'z-Zákirín*

See Rabino, No 63, according to whom only one number was issued on the 3rd of Rabí' i, A H 1325 (= April 16, 1907) I possess this number, which comprises 4 pp of 11¼" × 6⅝" Yearly subscription, 30 *qráns* in Tihrán, 35 *qráns* elsewhere in Persia, and 25 francs in Europe

(106)

Tamaddun (*Civilization*) تمدّن

A weekly paper printed in Tihrán in A H 1324 (= A D 1906–7) The proprietor and principal writer was the *Mudabbiru'l-Mamalik* of Hirand, who originally belonged to the class of doctors of theology and divinity students in Isfahán and afterwards applied himself to journalism in Tihrán This was one of the best newspapers of the Constitutional Period, and was conspicuous alike for its literary style and for its boldness and steadfastness for the Constitution After the Reactionary *Coup d'État* and bombardment of the Majlis (June 23, 1908) the *Mudabbiru'l-Mamálik* was able to save his life from the revengeful claws of the partisans of Autocracy, and fled by way of Bushire to India, where he again began to publish the *Tamaddun* in Bombay He also spent some time at Calcutta, where he published several articles in the *Hablu'l-Matin* He subsequently went to Constantinople, but returned to Persia during the Revolution (of 1909), and again started his paper at Rasht After the conquest of Tihrán [by the Nationalists] in A H 1327 (July 1909) he returned thither and again started his paper, which continued publication until A H 1330 (= A.D 1912) During its final

appearance in Tihrán the *Tamaddun* stood aside from the strife of the other conflicting parties, and described itself as the partisan of the policy of fundamental reforms (Radical) During its first publication the *Tamaddun* published eighty numbers a year, but afterwards appeared once a week During the latter part of A H 1329 (= A D 1911) it became a daily, and was published in small quarto form under the title of *Ittilá'át-i-ruzána-i-Tamaddun* ("Daily information of the *Tamaddun*") This paper epitomized in a very pleasing form the weekly happenings and news of Persia and foreign countries, and in this respect it occupied a unique position amongst Persian newspapers

See Rabino, No 64 I possess a good many numbers of the First and Second Years of publication, of which the first is No 1 of the First Year, dated the 17th of Dhu'l Hijja, A H 1324 (= Feb 1, 1907), and the last No 14 of the Second Year, dated the 11th of Jumáda 1, A H 1326 (= June 11, 1908) Each number comprises 4 pp of 11½" × 6¾" Yearly subscription, 24 *qráns* in Tihrán, 30 *qráns* elsewhere in Persia, 7 roubles in Russia and the Caucasus, and 14 rupees in India A supplementary number dated the 1st of Ramazan, A H 1326 (= Sept 27, 1908), bears over the title the words "*Nála-i Millat*" ("the Nation's Lament"), and above this the verse from the Qur'án "*Deem not them who were slain in the Way of God as dead, but rather as living, cared for by their Lord*" Instead of the usual price stand the words "a grain of activity," and readers in Persia are requested to pass the paper on to others It contains a proclamation from the *Mujtahids* of Karbalá against Muhammad 'Alí Sháh and in favour of the Constitution, and was printed at the *Hablu'l Matín* Press at Calcutta

(107)

Tamaddun (*Civilization*) تمدن

A paper published in Bombay in A H 1327 (= A D 1909) by the above-mentioned *Mudabbiru'l-Mamálik* during his stay in India Only one number appeared

Not in Rabino, and not seen

(108)

Tamaddun (*Civilization*) تمدن

A paper published in Rasht in A H 1327 (= A D 1909), edited and written by the above-mentioned *Mudabbiru'l-Mamálik*, during his return from India to Tihrán Only one number appeared, dated 29 Rabí' 11, A H 1327 (May 19, 1909).

See Rabino, No. 64, according to whom the single Rasht issue was No. 15 of the Second Year We have seen above that No 14 of the Second Year was published

on June 11, 1908, 12 days before the *Coup d'État*, while the next (Rasht) issue, No. 15, must have been published about 13 months later, in July, 1909, just before the capture of Tihrán by the Nationalists

(109)

Tanbíh (*Admonition*) تنبیه

A comic paper, partly lithographed and partly printed, published in Tihrán, and illustrated with coloured caricatures, in A H 1325 (= A D 1907), under the editorship of *Mu'tazidu'l-Atibbá* After the restoration of the Constitution (in July, 1909) this paper was again published, and continued until these last times (end of 1911) In politics it belonged to the Moderate Party

See Rabino, No 65, according to whom No 7 was dated the 14th of Jumáda ii, A H 1325 (= July 25, 1907) I possess No 1 of the Third Year, which, however, is undated It comprises 4 pp of 12½" × 6¾" Pp 1 and 4 each contain a caricature (not coloured) and are lithographed pp 2 and 3 are printed

(110)

Tahdhíb (*Purification*) تهذیب

A weekly newspaper printed in Tihrán in A H 1328 (= A D 1910)

Not in Rabino, and not seen

(111)

at-Tawaddud (*Affection*) التّودّد

A paper published in Paris in A D 1891 (= A H 1308–9) under the editorship of Shaykh Abú Nazzara (-*Naddhara*) This paper was published in four languages, Arabic, Persian, Turkish and French, and was illustrated As it contained a Persian section it has been recorded amongst the Persian newspapers Some of its Persian articles were written by Shaykh Muhammad Hasan of Sírján (near Kirmán), entitled *Shaykhu'l-Mulk*

Not in Rabino, and not seen Shaykh Abu Naddára (a vulgar form of the name given above), one of the Egyptian political exiles in Paris was better known as the editor of the Arabic comic lithographed paper called by the same name ("the Father of Spectacles") which he had assumed His real name was James Sanua

(112)

Tiyátr (*The Theatre*)

A bi-weekly paper printed in Tihrán in A.H. 1326 (= A.D. 1908), edited and written by Mírzá Rizá Khán-i-Tabátabá'í of Ná'in, afterwards a member of the Second National Assembly. Its contents consisted of scenes cast in dramatic form referring to the conditions of administration under the Autocracy, and the methods of government adopted by princes and governors under the ancient *régime*. It may be reckoned one of the best newspapers in Persian.

See Rabino, No. 66, according to whom the paper first appeared on the 4th of Rabí' i, A.H. 1326 (= April 6, 1908). He adds that he had seen No. 1 of the Third Year, which bore no date. I possess Nos. 1–4, which contain each 4 pp. of 11″ × 7″. Yearly subscription, 12 *qráns* in Tihrán, 16 *qrans* elsewhere in Persia, 4 roubles in Russia and the Caucasus, and 8 francs in Europe.

(113)

Thurayyá (*The Pleiades*) ثريا

A weekly newspaper printed in Cairo (Egypt) in A.H. 1316 (= A.D. 1898–9). The first number was dated the 14th of Jumáda ii of that year (= Oct. 30, 1898), and it was at first edited by Mírzá 'Alí Muhammad Khán of Káshán and afterwards by Sayyid Faraju'lláh of Káshán. So long as it was edited and written by the former it was much sought after and attained a great renown, so much so that during the Period of Autocracy no Persian newspaper was so much appreciated. It participated in most of those qualities which have been already mentioned in our eulogy of the *Parwarish*, than which it was even better known in consequence of the longer duration of its publication. One of its well-known articles was the "Topic of Conversation" (*Maqála-i-Musáhaba*), and one of the most important episodes in its career was the prolonged controversy concerning Hájjí Najmu'd-Dawla's Calendar (see pp. 61–2, *supra*) which took place between it and the *Tarbiyat* newspaper. Another was its defence of the *Tarbiyat* College established in Tabríz by the present writer and others, and its continued attacks on Hájjí Sayyid Muhammad of Yazd, the notorious intriguer who had been instrumental in bringing about the closure of that College. The

violent attacks on this man published in Nos 36 and 37 of the First Year of this paper led to his banishment from Tabríz In the middle of the Second Year of its publication, Mírzá 'Alí Muhammad Khán handed over the paper to Sayyid Faraju'lláh, and himself founded the *Parwarish* (*q v*) Thereafter the *Thurayyá* entirely lost its former importance, and no longer retained its popularity It continued to be published in Egypt under the editorship of Sayyid Faraju'lláh for some time, but was finally suspended, and the editor went to Tihrán and there resumed its publication

See Rabino, No 67 I possess an almost complete set of the paper comprising Nos 1–51 of the First Year, the date of No 1 being the 14th of Jumada ii, A.H 1316 (=Oct 30, 1898), and Nos 1–36 of the Second Year, the date of the last number being the 20th of Jumáda i, A H 1318 (=Oct. 15, 1900) The first number of the *Parwarish* is dated the 10th of Safar, A H 1318 (=June 8, 1900) Each number of the *Thurayyá* comprises from 16 to 18 pp of 9″ × 5¾″ Yearly subscription, 36 *qrans* in Persia, 4 mejidiyyes in Turkey, 10 roubles in Russia and the Caucasus, 25 francs in Europe, and 12 rupees in India

(114)

Thurayyá (*The Pleiades*) ثريا

A weekly newspaper printed in Tihrán in A H 1321 (=A D 1903–4) under the editorship of the above-mentioned Sayyid Faraju'lláh of Káshan

See Rabino, No 67, according to whom No 21 of the Sixth Year (dating from the foundation of the paper at Cairo) was dated the 22nd of Rajab, A H 1321 (=Oct. 14, 1903)

(115)

Thurayyá (*The Pleiades*). ثريا

A paper published at Káshán in A H 1328 (=A D 1910) by the same Sayyid Faraju'lláh

Not mentioned by Rabino, and not seen

(116)

Járchí-yi-Millat (*The People's Herald*) جارچی ملت

A weekly paper lithographed in Tihrán towards the end of A.H. 1328 (=A D 1910) under the editorship of Áqá Sayyid Husayn, and illustrated with comic caricatures

See Rabino, No. 68, according to whom No 5 was dated the 5th of Muharram, A.H. 1329 (=Jan 6, 1911) I possess Nos 5–8. No 6 is dated the 23rd of

Muḥarram, A.H. 1329, and has on the first page a portrait of M. Panoff, the celebrated Bulgarian revolutionary who was expelled from Tihrán by the Russians and afterwards took part in the fighting near Astarábád See my *History of the Persian Revolution*, pp 214–228 and 418 Each number comprises 4 pp. of 12¼" × ... Yearly subscription, 8 *qráns* in Tihrán, 10 *qráns* elsewhere in Persia, and 6 francs abroad

(117)

Járchi-yi-Watan (*The Country's Herald*) جارچی وطن

A weekly paper published in Tihrán in A H 1328 (= A D 1910)

Not in Rabino, and not seen

(118)

Jám-i-Jam (*The Goblet of Jamshíd*) جام جم

A weekly newspaper lithographed in Tihrán in A H 1325 (= A D 1907) under the editorship of Hájji Sayyid Rizá (the nephew of Hájji Sayyid Muhammad the banker), one of the registrars of the National Assembly, and illustrated with portraits of former kings of Persia

See Rabino, No 69, according to whom this paper first appeared on the 14th of Jumáda ii, A H 1325 (= July 25, 1907) I possess Nos 1–10, 12–18, 20–23, 26–27. Each number comprises as a rule 4 pp of 12" × 6¾", and has on the first page a picture of one of the ancient Persian kings of the Kayání or Sásání dynasty, the first being Kayumarth and the last Bahram II Yearly subscription, 12 *qráns* in Tihrán, 15 *qráns* elsewhere in Persia, 3 roubles in Russia and the Caucasus, one mejidiyyé and a half in Turkey, and 7 francs in Europe

(119)

Jám-i-Jamshíd (*The Goblet of Jamshíd*) جام جمشید

A weekly newspaper published at Bombay every Monday in A H 1262 (= A D 1846)

This paper, together with some other Persian newspapers, is mentioned in Zenker's *Bibliotheca Orientalis* (Leipzig, 1846), under article No 1831 According to this statement, the papers mentioned by name as published in India were earlier by at least five years than even the *Rúznáma i Waqáyi'-i Ittifáqiyya*, which was the earliest Persian newspaper, since they were in circulation in A.H. 1262, which was the date, according to the Muhammadan computation, of Zenker's work, and some of them may have been founded years before that date This paper is not mentioned by Rabino, nor have I seen it

(120)

Jám-i-Jahán-numá (*The World-shewing Goblet*). جام جهان نما

A weekly newspaper published in Calcutta, appearing on Thursdays in A H 1262 (= A D 1846)

Mentioned by Zenker, *op cit*, under article No 1833 Not mentioned by Rabino, and not seen

(121)

Jarída-i-Tijárat (*The Mercantile Magazine*) جریدهٔ تجارت

A weekly paper lithographed in the *naskh* handwriting in Tihrán in A.H 1297 (= A D 1880)

Not in Rabino, and not seen

(122)

Jarída-i-Kirmán (*The Kirmán Magazine*) جریدهٔ کرمان

A paper lithographed in the *naskh* handwriting, and appearing once in every ten days, under the editorship of Mírzá Ghulám-Husayn of Kirmán, in A H 1329 (= A D 1911) The first number was dated the 17th of Rabí' 1 (= March 18) of that year

Not in Rabino I possess No 1, which comprises 8 pp of 12¼" × 6⅞" Yearly subscription, 20 *qráns* in Kirmán, 24 *qráns* elsewhere in Persia, and 15 francs abroad

(123)

Jarída-i-Millí (*The National Magazine*) جریدهٔ ملّی

A bi-weekly paper lithographed at Tabríz in A.H 1324 (= A.D 1906) under the editorship of Mírzá 'Alí Akbar Khán See *infra*, under *Rúznama-i-Millí*

See Rabino, No 70 I possess Nos 32–37, the first of which is dated the 4th of Dhu'l-Hijja, A.H 1324 (= Jan 9, 1907), comprises 4 pp of 12" × 6¾", and is lithographed in a large, clear *naskh* The yearly subscription (100 copies) was 10 *qráns* in Tabríz, 15 *qráns* elsewhere in Persia, and 3½ roubles in Russia

(124)

al-Jamál (*Beauty*) الجمال

A weekly paper printed in Tihrán in A.H 1325 (= A D 1907), under the editorship of Mírzá Muhammad Husayn of Isfahán,

[illegible] were published the [illegible] and [illegible] orator Sayyid Jamálu'd-Dín [illegible]

[illegible] Rabino, No. 71. I possess Nos. 3, 10, 12, 14 and [illegible] the 13th of Ṣafar, A.H. 1325 (= March 28, 1907), and the [illegible] (= Nov. 21) of the same year. Each number comprises 4 pp. [illegible] subscription, 8 qráns in Ṭihrán, 10 qráns elsewhere in Persia, [illegible] and Egypt, 2 roubles in Russia and the Caucasus, and 6 francs [illegible] America.

(125)

Jamáliyya.

A weekly newspaper printed in Hamadán in A.H. [illegible] (= A.D. 1910) under the editorship of Ḥájjí Muḥammad [illegible] and written by the *Mu'ayyid-i-Huzúr* in connection with [illegible] arrest of the late Áqá Sayyid Jamálu'd-Dín in Hamadán [illegible] preliminary to his martyrdom in A.H 1326 (June-July, [illegible]). It was founded to perpetuate his name

See Rabino, No. 72 I have no copy of this paper

(126)

Al-Janáb.

A weekly newspaper lithographed at Iṣfahán towards [illegible] end of A.H 1324 (= Dec 1906) under the editorship of [illegible] Sayyid 'Alí Janáb

See Rabino, No 73, who describes it as "printed," but it is in fact lithographed. I possess Nos 1-11, of which the first is dated the 20th of Shawwál, A.H. [illegible] (= Dec. 9, 1906) Each number comprises 8 pp of $13\frac{1}{2}'' \times 7\frac{1}{2}''$ Yearly subscription [illegible] qráns in Iṣfahán The first number is very badly lithographed in a very [illegible] hand, but the subsequent numbers are much better.

(127)

[illegible] (*The Lord's Jungle*).

A weekly comic paper published in Ṭihrán in A.H. [illegible] (= A.D. 1911) under the editorship of Ḥusayn. The first [illegible] dated the 20th of Rajab of that year (= July 17, 1911) [illegible]

Not mentioned by Rabino, and not seen.

[illegible] For an account of his life and death, see my *Persian Revolution* [illegible] [illegible] 190, 244 (with portrait) and [illegible] [illegible] Hamadán shortly after the Coup d'état of [illegible]

To



Áqá Siyyid Jamálu'd-Dín of Isfahán,

killed at Hamadán in the summer of 1908

(128)

Janúb (*The South*). جنوب

A weekly newspaper printed in Tihrán in A.H 1328 (= A.D 1910) under the editorship of "Tangistání," with Sayyid Ya'qúb-i-Shírází as the chief writer This newspaper was the organ of the party called "Progressives" (*Taraqqí-khwáhán*), who championed the development of the Southern provinces of Persia, and was promoted and managed by a group of deputies representing the South in the Second National Assembly Its most important contents consisted in criticisms of the Bakhtiyárís.

See Rabino, No 74 I possess Nos 3, 5, 10 and 11, of which the first is dated the 5th of Muharram, A H 1329 (=Jan 6, 1911) Each number comprises 8 pp. of 14½" × 8½" Yearly subscription, Tihrán, 18 *qráns*, elsewhere in Persia, 20 *qráns*, abroad, 22 *qráns*

(129)

Jihád-i-Akbar (*The Greater Warfare*) جهاد اکبر

A weekly paper lithographed in Isfahán early in A H 1325 (= A.D 1907) under the editorship of Mírzá 'Alí Áqá of Khurásán. The first number appeared on Muharram 6 of that year (= Feb. 19, 1907) It was one of the most violent newspapers, and its extreme boldness and fiery utterances were an especial cause of complaint to Muhammad 'Alí Sháh Endeavours were made from Tihrán to suppress it, but notwithstanding this it lasted for more than a year Its policy was to promote liberal ideas and a thorough-going Constitutionalism

See Rabino, No 75, according to whom it continued publication from the 6th of Muharram, A H 1325 (= Feb 19, 1907), until the 4th of Rabí' ii, A H 1326 (= May 6, 1908). I do not possess a copy

(130)

Jahán-árá (*The World-adorning*) جهان آرا

A weekly paper lithographed in Ṭihrán in A.H 1325 (= A.D 1907) under the editorship of Mírzá 'Abbás Khan and Mírzá Sulaymán Khán

See Rabino, No 76, according to whom the paper first appeared on the 20th of Rajab, A.H 1325 (= August 29, 1907) I do not possess a copy

(131) ✝

Júgháyi Lráber (*The Julfá Intelligencer*) Ջուղայի Լրաբեր

An Armenian newspaper published in Julfá of Isfahán under the editorship of Bákir Adwár Tázáryáns, deputy agent of the Armenians

See Rabino, No 235 I do not possess a copy

(132)

Chápuk (*The Rapid*) چاپك

A weekly newspaper published on Thursdays in Bombay in A H 1262 (= A D 1846)

Mentioned by Zenker under article No 1832, but not by Rabino, and not seen

(133)

Chanta-i-Pá-barahna (*The Beggar's Wallet*) چنتهٔ پا برهنه

An illustrated weekly paper lithographed in Tihrán in A H. 1329 (= A D 1911) under the editorship of Mirzá Mahmúd Afshár the Druggist This paper wrote in very simple and popular language about the advantages of Constitutionalism and the conditions of labourers and peasants, and had a good effect amongst the common people and villagers. It defended the policy of the Democrats

See Rabino, No 77 I possess a copy of No 11, which is undated It comprises 4 pp. of 13″ × 7⅞″ Yearly subscription, 5 qráns in Tihrán The writing is a large and clear but ungraceful *ta'líq* It contains a poetical section entitled *Adabiyyát-i-Bábá Ahmad*

(134)

Chihra-numá (*The Face shower*) چهره نما

An illustrated paper printed in Alexandria, and published once every ten days, in A H 1322 (= A.D. 1904–5), under the editorship of Mírzá 'Abdu'l-Muhammad of Isfahán. After a while it became a weekly paper, and was transferred to Cairo.

See Rabino, No 78, who only mentions the Cairo edition. I have no copy of any of the Alexandria issues.

(135)

Chihra-numá (*The Face-shower*) چهره نما

A weekly illustrated newspaper printed in Cairo (Egypt), which still continues publication

See Rabino, No. 78 I have a fairly complete set from the second to the ninth year (August 1906 until Dec 1912) Each number comprises 16 pp of 9¼" × 6¼" Yearly subscription in Egypt, 3 dollars, Persia, 30 *qráns*, Turkey, 4 mejidiyyés, England and India, 10 rupees, Turkistán and the Caucasus, 8 roubles, Europe and China, 20 francs

(136)

Hablu'l-Matín (*The Firm Cord*) حبل المتين

A weekly newspaper published in Calcutta, originally lithographed and subsequently printed, in A H 1311 (= A D 1893–4), which has continued to appear regularly down to the present time, edited and written by Sayyid Jalálu'd-Dín of Káshán, entitled *Mu'ayyidu'l-Islám* It is the oldest regular Persian newspaper which still survives, and holds an important position, especially amongst men of learning and in religious circles, in which it has a special weight and influence Some portion of it is always devoted to religious matters, and it is the champion of Pan-Islamism One of the most important events connected with its history was the continuation of its publication after the suppression by the *Amínu's-Sultán* in A H 1318 (= A D 1900–1) of the Persian newspapers published abroad, and the influence exerted by its efforts in bringing about his dismissal, especially by the publication in all countries of a photographic facsimile of the *takfír-náma*, or declaration of infidelity, of the *Amínu's-Sultán* signed by the chief *mujtahids* (divines) of Najaf, which *takfír-náma* the Transcaspian Gazette (*Majmú'a-i-Má-wará-yi-Bahr-i-Khazar* see *infra, sub voce*) vainly endeavoured to discredit and prove fictitious Mention must also be made of its fruitful efforts during the Reactionary Period known as "the Short Tyranny" (*Istibdád-i Saghír*) to secure the renewal of the Constitution and to incite the '*ulamá* to take action The effect of this newspaper, by reason of its old-established and steadily progressive character, produced many other publications and institutions, amongst which we may mention sundry useful

Persian books printed in and published by its Press, and also the foundation of the Persian newspapers *Miftáhu'z-Zafar* ("Key of Victory") and *Ázád* ("Freeman") and the *Mulk-u-Millat* ("Kingdom and Nation") in English, all in Calcutta; also the daily *Hablu'l-Matín* in Tihrán, and numerous printing-presses established under its name in Tihrán, Najaf, Isfahán, etc.

See Rabino, No 80 I possess a fairly complete set for the last seven or eight years (July 1905–December 1912) and a few of the older numbers, including No. 1 of the Seventh Year, which is lithographed, and bears the date 18 Sha'bán, A H. 1317 (=Jan 1, 1900) I do not know when the paper began to be printed instead of lithographed, but by A D 1905 the change had been effected The lithographed copies are of larger size, comprising 12 pp of 15½" × 9½" The yearly subscription was then 10 rupees for India, 35 *qráns* for Persia and Afghánistán, 5 mejidiyyés for Turkey and Egypt, 25 francs for Europe and China, and 10 roubles for Russia. The later printed numbers comprise 16 pp of 12¾" × 6½", and the subscription price is slightly higher

(137)

Hablu'l-Matín (*The Firm Cord*) حبل المتين

A daily paper printed in Tihrán in the early part of A H 1325 (=A D 1907) under the editorship of Sayyid Hasan of Káshán, brother of the *Mu'ayyidu'l Islam* Its publication was interrupted by the Reactionary *Coup d'État* and Bombardment of the *Majlis* (June 23, 1908), but after the restoration of the Constitution and the conquest of Tihrán by the Nationalists it again issued several numbers It was, however, suspended and its editor tried and condemned to two years imprisonment for printing an article *à propos* of the execution of Shaykh Fazlu'lláh of Núr[1] which was considered to contain an attack on religion. This was the most important daily newspaper of the Constitutional Period, and in particular its political articles on Foreign Affairs, especially its criticisms on the Anglo-Russian Entente of A.D. 1907, were of a noteworthy character[2]

(138)

Hablu'l-Matín (*The Firm Cord*) حبل المتين

A daily paper printed at Rasht early in A.H. 1327 (=A.D. 1909) under the editorship of Mírzá Sayyid Hasan of Káshán, editor

[1] See my *Persian Revolution*, pp 329–30 and 444–6. He was hanged on July 31, 1909.

[2] Some of the most important of these articles, published in September, are reproduced on pp. 173–92 of my *Persian Revolution*

of the above-mentioned Tihrán *Ḥablu'l-Matín*, who was exiled after the *Coup d'État* of June 23, 1908, and withdrew to the Caucasus, until, after the successful revolution at Rasht in Muḥarram, A.H. 1327 (= Jan.–Feb., 1909), he hastened thither and resumed the publication of his paper, which was continued there for four months and a half

See Rabino, No. 79, who conveniently brackets this and the above mentioned paper, which are in fact identical in all save place of publication, while the Calcutta *Ḥablu'l-Matín* differs by being a weekly, not a daily paper, and by being under different editorship I possess an almost complete set of the Tihrán and Rasht *Ḥablu'l-Matín* No 1 is dated the 15th of Rabí' i, A H. 1325 (= April 29, 1907), and the First Year ends with No 274 (April 16, 1908) Of the Second Year I possess Nos. 1–51, the last dated June 18, 1908, only five days before the *Coup d'État* and Bombardment of the *Majlis* The next number in my possession, dated March 15, 1909, belongs to the Rasht issue, and is entitled No 56 of the Second Year, so that presumably four numbers appeared during the nine preceding months It contains an article headed "the Time of Parting is ended," so that it may be the first number published at Rasht No 71 (April 5, 1909) is the last of the Second Year Nos. 1–58 of the Third Year were published at Rasht, the latter bearing the date July 21, 1909. The next number (No 1 of the Third Year of the revived Tihrán issue) is dated July 25, 1909, and No 5 of the same issue dated July 29, 1909, is the last which I possess. The article which led to the suppression of the paper and the imprisonment of the editor probably appeared three or four days later Each number comprises 4 pp. of 11½" × 7" Yearly subscription, 40 *qráns* in Tihrán, 45 elsewhere in Persia, 12 roubles in Russia and the Caucasus, and 30 francs in other countries

(139)

al-Ḥadíd (*Iron* or *The Keen One*) الحديد

A weekly paper lithographed in Tabríz in A H 1315 (= A.D 1897–8), founded and edited by Mírzá Sayyid Ḥusayn Khán, editor of the newspapers *Ṣuḥbat* ("Conversation"), *'Adálat* ("Justice") and *Khabar* ("News") After three numbers of this paper had been published, the Russian Consulate at Tabríz took the above-mentioned editor into its service in the Passport department, and this led to the suspension of the paper After a while, however, in A.H 1323 (= A D 1905–6) the paper was revived under the editorship of Áqá Sayyid Muḥammad of Shabistar, editor of the papers *Mujáhid* ("Volunteer") and *Írán-i-Naw* ("New Persia"), and continued to be published until the first general rising in Tabríz and the Proclamation of the Constitution, when it changed its name to *'Adálat* ("Justice"). Some

numbers of this paper were published under ... without the article

See Rabino, No. 81, who describes it as "printed," ... mentions its second appearance in A.H. 1323–4. I possess a good ... al-Hadid, extending from No 2 of the Second Year, dated the ... A.H 1324 (=June 30, 1906), to No 49 of the same year, dated the ... A.H. 1325 (1324 is erroneously printed on the paper)=June 13, 1907. The ... of the *'Adálat* seems to have been continuous with *al Hadíd*, for No. 15 of the ... paper, Sha'bán 11, A H 1325 (printed "1324")=Sept 19, 1907, begins with ... announcement of the change of title Each number comprises 8 pp. of ... Yearly subscription, 17 *qráns* in Tabríz, 20 *qráns* elsewhere in Persia, ... in Russia, and 10 francs in Europe

(140)

Hurriyyat (*Liberty*)

Mentioned by Rabino (No 82), on whose authority it is here inserted, without ... particulars. It is not otherwise known to me

(141)

Harf-i-Haqq (*Straight Talk*) حرف حق

A weekly paper printed in Tabríz in the latter part of A.H 1325 (= Winter of 1907–8) by the former administration of the newspaper *'Adálat*, edited and written by Sayyid Ni'matu'lláh of Isfahán In politics it was Conservative and moderately Constitutionalist

See Rabino, No 83, according to whom No 2 was dated the 5th of Dhu'l-Hijja, A.H. 1325 (=Jan 9, 1908) I possess a copy of this number, which comprises 4 pp. of 13½" × 6½" Yearly subscription, 10 *qráns* in Tabríz, 15 elsewhere in Persia, ... abroad The printing is particularly good

(142)

Hasharátu'l-Arz (*Reptiles of the Earth*) حشرات الارض

A comic weekly paper printed in Tabríz with coloured lithographed caricatures in the early part of A H. 1326 (= A.D. 1908). It was founded and published by Hájji Mírzá Áqá Bilúri ... edited by Mírzá Áqá, known as *Nála-i-Millat* ("The Nation's Lament"), and was one of the best produced comic papers. In the Second Constitutional Period (end of July, 1909) ... appeared, but not more than one number had ...



The Myrmidons of the ex-Shah Muhammad 'Alí attend and report on a Constitutional Meeting

[illegible] was suppressed by the Government. In politics the paper was Liberal and thorough-going Constitutionalist.

See Rabino, No. 84, according to whom the first number was published on the [illegible], A.H. 1326 (=March 18, 1908) I possess several numbers of the earlier [illegible]. Each contains 4 pp. of 13″ × 7″, of which pp. 1 and 4 chiefly consist of [illegible]. Yearly subscription, 12 *qráns* in Tabríz, 16 *qráns* elsewhere in Persia, [illegible] francs abroad.

(143)

[illegible]-Sihhat (*The Preservation of Health*) [illegible]

A paper published in Tihrán, mentioned by Rabino (No 85), but not otherwise known

Dr Ahmad Khán says that it was founded about A H 1319 (A.D 1901–2) in connection with the Council of Health established four or five years earlier

(144)

[illegible]qá'iq (*Verities*) [illegible]

A weekly illustrated magazine printed at Bákú in the early part of the year A H 1325 (= A D 1907), edited and written by Mírzá 'Alí Muhammad Khán Uwaysí, Persian Vice-Consul at Bákú. Seven numbers were published

See Rabino, No 86, according to whom the first number was published on the [illegible] of Safar, A H 1325 (= March 22, 1907) I have no copy in my possession

(145)

[illegible] (*Rights*) [illegible]

A weekly paper printed in Tihrán in the early part of the year A.H. 1325 (= A.D 1908) under the editorship of Sulaymán Mírzá, Yahyá Mírzá, and Mírzá Muhammad of Khurásán, editor of the paper *Nagát* ("Deliverance"), all three of whom were members of the Second National Assembly It was first founded by the two brothers Sulaymán Mírzá and Yahyá Mírzá, who subsequently included Mírzá Muhammad of Khurásán in their partnership. In politics the paper was Liberal and thorough-going Constitutionalist, but not Democrat, as stated by Rabino.

[illegible] Rabino, No. 87, according to whom No 2 was dated the [illegible] of [illegible] (= April 24, 1908). I possess Nos. 4 and 5 of this paper. Each number [illegible] of 11½″ × 6½″. Yearly subscription, 12 *qráns* in Tihrán, [illegible] in Persia, and [illegible] francs abroad.

(146)

Haqíqat (*The Truth*). حقیقت

A weekly paper published in Tihrán in A.H. 1325 (= A.D. 1907).

Not in Rabino, and not seen

(147)

Haqíqat (*The Truth*) حقیقت

A weekly paper lithographed in Isfahán early in the year A.H. 1325 (= A.D. 1907) under the editorship of Hájji Sayyid Ahmad

See Rabino, No 89, from whom the above particulars are taken He adds that the second issue appeared on the 22nd of Muharram, A.H. 1325 (= March 7, 1907). I do not possess a copy

(148)

Haqíqat (*The Truth*) حقیقت

A "jelly-graphed" newspaper published at Rasht in A.H. 1326 (= A.D. 1908) on the part of the Executive of the *Anjuman-i-Haqíqat*

See Rabino, No 88, from whom the above particulars are taken I do not possess a copy

(149)

حکایت جان گداز وقایع از یزد الی شیراز

Hikáyat-i-Ján-gudáz-i-Waqáyi' az Yazd ila Shíráz

(*The Soul-melting Tale of Events from Yazd to Shíráz*)

A migratory newspaper lithographed in Shíráz and on the roads of Fárs in A.H. 1329 (= A.D. 1911) The following superscription stood at the top of the first page "News-editor, Hájji Fathu'lláh, poetically surnamed *Maftún*, son of the late Áqá 'Abdu'r-Rahím of Yazd, known as Najafí, resident in the province of 'Arabistán in Persia." This paper is deserving of attention on account of its originality

Not in Rabino, and not seen

(150)

Hikmat (*Wisdom*) حکمت

A weekly newspaper printed in Cairo in A.H. 1310 (= A.D. 1892-3) under the editorship of Mírzá Mahdí of Tabríz and

[illegible]-Dawla and Ra'ísu'l-Hukamá, which still appears in a somewhat irregular fashion, usually about three numbers a month being published This paper also is one of the older papers which achieved a considerable celebrity in the earlier days, and especially promoted the use of pure Persian undiluted with Arabic. One of the most notable productions of this paper was the poem known as "The Lament of the Fatherland" (*Faryád-i-Watan*) in the metre known as *Ṭawíl* ("the Long")

See Rabino, No 90 I possess a number of copies ranging from No 246 (of the Seventh Year), dated Safar 1, A H 1316 (=June 21, 1898), to No 881 (of the Fifteenth Year) dated Safar 1, A H 1325 (=March 15, 1907) The former is printed in a larger size than the succeeding numbers, and comprises 8 pp of 14″ × 9″ The later numbers (at any rate from the Eighth Year onwards) comprise 16 pp of 11″ × 8″ Yearly subscription, 40 *qiráns*, Russia and the Caucasus, 10 roubles, India, 15 rupees, Egypt and Europe, £1 E

(151)

Ḥayát (*Life*) حيات

A weekly newspaper printed in Tihrán in A H 1328 (= A.D. 1910).

Not in Rabino, and not seen

(152)

Ḥayát (*Life*). حيات

A paper lithographed in Shiraz in A H 1328 (= A.D 1910) It was published there by a fugitive Liberal patriot from India called "Ṣúfí," who was presently again compelled to seek safety in flight by the harshness of the British Consul, and the newspaper was thereupon suspended, after only eight numbers of it had appeared The editor's full name was Súfí Ánbabárshá, a native of Murádábád in the Deccan

See Rabino, No 91 I possess the number described by him (No. 1, dated the 11th of Jumáda 1, A H 1328 = May 21, 1910), but am not certain as to the identification with the paper described in the text, for though on the one hand there are evidences of Indian authorship (as in the form *Angrīz* for *Inglís*, English), the editor's name appears as Muhammad Husayn *Khádim-i Sharí'at* ("Servant of the Holy Law"), and the place of publication as the *Maydán-i-Túpkhána*, or "Gun Square," which suggests Tihrán rather than Shiráz. (I am informed by [illegible] Aḥmad Khán, however, that *maydáns* of the same name exist at Shíráz and [illegible], if not at Iṣfahán also) In any case this paper comprises 4 pp. of [illegible] × [illegible], lithographed in a good *ta'líq* hand Yearly subscription, 10 [illegible]

(153)

Kháwaristán (*The Eastern Land*) خاورستان

A daily paper printed in Tihrán in A H 1327 (= A.D. 1909) under the editorship of Murtazá Khán *I'tizádu'l-Milla.*

See Rabino, No 92 I possess Nos 1 and 2, the first dated the 20th of Shawwál, A.H 1327 (= November 4, 1909) Each number comprises 4 pp of 11½″ × 6¾″. Yearly subscription, 35 *qráns* in Tihrán, 40 *qráns* elsewhere in Persia, and 45 *qráns* abroad

(154)

Khabar (*News*) خبر

A daily newspaper printed in Tihrán in A H 1328 (= A D 1910) under the editorship of Mírza Sayyid Husayn Khán, the former editor of the newspapers *al-Hadíd*, *'Adalat* and *Suhbat* (*q v*)

See Rabino, No 93, according to whom No 5 was published on the 5th of Shawwál, A H 1328 (= Oct 10, 1910) I do not possess a copy

(155)

Khurásán. خراسان

A weekly paper printed in Mashhad (Khurásán) in A H. 1327 (= A D 1909)

See Rabino, No 94, according to whom this paper first appeared on the 25th of Safar, A H 1327 (= March 18, 1909) I possess several numbers ranging from No. 2 (dated the 3rd of Rabí' i, A H 1327 = March 25, 1909) to No 24 (dated the 15th of Rajab, A H 1327 = August 12, 1909) Each number comprises 4 pp of 13″ × 6¾″. Yearly subscription, 12 *qrans* in Mashhad, 15 *qráns* elsewhere in Persia, 18 *qráns* abroad Editor M S Husayn

(156)

Khurram (*Gay*) خرم

A fortnightly paper printed in Tihrán in A.H 1325 (= A.D. 1907–8) under the editorship of Hájji Mír Husayn

See Rabino, No 95 I possess No 2, which is dated the 29th of Rabí' ii, A.H. 1325 (= May 12, 1907), and comprises 4 pp of 11½″ × 6¾″ Yearly subscription, 25 *qráns* in Tihrán and neighbourhood, 24 *qráns* elsewhere in Persia.

(157)

Khulásatu'l-Hawádith (*Summary of News*) خلاصة الحوادث

A daily paper printed in Tihrán in A H 1316 (= A.D 1898–9). This paper, which appeared as a single sheet or leaf, containing a summary of telegraphic news, was the first daily paper

... and lasted more than five years. It was founded by Muhammad Báqir Khán *I'timádu's-Saltana* at the time when he was made Minister of the Press

See Rabino, No. 96, according to whom it first appeared in Jumáda ii, A.H 1316 (= Oct.-Nov., 1898), while the last issue seen (No 1107) was dated the 18th of Rabí' ii, A.H. 1321 (= August 13, 1903) I possess Nos 874 (Aug 7, 1902) to 879 Each consists of one sheet (2 pp) of 12¾" × 6½" Monthly subscription, 3 *qráns*

(158)

Khiláfat (*Caliphate*) خلافت

A fortnightly paper printed in London in A H 1324 (= A D 1906) under the editorship of Hájjí Shaykh Hasan of Tabríz. This newspaper was founded by the above-mentioned Shaykh Hasan in partnership and co-operation with a fugitive from Egypt [Najíb Hindiya, a Syrian, brother of the well-known Cairo printer Amín Hindiya], and successive numbers appeared, some in Persian, some in Arabic, and some in Turkish The Persian numbers, most of which were devoted to attacks on "Prince" Arfa'u'd-Dawla, then Persian Ambassador at Constantinople, were written by the above-mentioned Shaykh Hasan

See Rabino, No 97, who gives the date of first appearance as the 9th of Jumáda i, A.H 1324 (= July 1, 1906) I possess a good many copies of the Turkish, Arabic and Persian issues, for I was acquainted with both editors, and Shaykh Hasan was for some time (about 1907-9) Persian teacher at Cambridge The oldest Turkish issue which I possess is No 43 of the Second Year, dated April 5, 1901, and the oldest Arabic issue No 163 of the Seventh Year, dated Nov 1, 1906, so that the paper must have been started early in 1900 Of the Persian issue I possess Nos. 1-13, the first dated July 1, 1906, and the last Feb 15, 1907 Each number comprises 4 pp of 14" × 8½" Yearly subscription England, 8s Persia, 20 *qráns*, Turkey and Egypt, 50 piastres, Russia, 4 roubles, Europe and China, 10 francs

(159)

Khurshíd (*The Sun*). خورشید

A newspaper published in Tihran under the management of the Principal of the *Dáru'l-Funun*, or University

Not in Rabino, and not seen

(160)

Khurshíd (*The Sun*) خورشید

A weekly paper printed and lith[ographed] in Mashhad in [A.H. 1325] (= A.D. 1907) under the [editor]ship of Mírzá Muhammad

Sádiq Khán of Tabríz. Subsequently four numbers of this paper were published weekly In politics it was Moderate, not Democrat, as stated by Rabino

See Rabino, No 98, who says that the paper was started in Muharram, A.H. 1325 (=Feb-March, 1907), and was still appearing when he wrote in A.H 1329 (=A D 1911) I possess a good many copies, of which the first is No. 1 (dated Muharram 21, 1325=March 6, 1907) This as well as No. 3 is lithographed in a large, clear *naskh*, but No 10 (dated the 29th of Rabí' i, A H 1325=May 12, 1907) is printed No 104 (dated the 25th of Dhu'l Hijja, A H 1325=Jan 29, 1908) is the last number of the First Year which I possess No 139 (Second Year) is dated the 13th of Rabí' i, A H 1326 (=April 15, 1908) No 2 of the Third Year (the next in my possession) is again lithographed in a poor *ta'líq* hand, and is dated the 24th of Rajab, A.H 1327 (=August 11, 1909) No 33 of the same year is still lithographed, but once more in *naskh* No 36 of the Fourth Year, dated the 21st of Dhu'l Hijja, A H 1328 (=Dec 24, 1910), is again printed, while No 68 of the same year, dated the 27th of Jumáda ii, A H 1329 (=June 25, 1911), is considerably enlarged in size, each page containing three instead of two columns With this exception the pages (originally eight, later four) measure 12" × 7' Yearly subscription, 32 *qráns* in Mashhad, 36 *qráns* elsewhere in Persia, 8 roubles in Turkistán and the Caucasus, and 20 francs abroad

(161)

Khayál (*Imagination*) خیال

Of this paper, not mentioned by Rabino or Mírzá Muhammad 'Alí Khán "Tarbiyat," I possess one copy (No 1), undated, which was lithographed at Rasht On page 1 is a coloured portrait of Sultán Ahmad Sháh (who succeeded his deposed father, Muhammad 'Alí, on July 16, 1909), and on page 4 is a political cartoon Yearly subscription, 12 *qráns* in Rasht, 17 *qráns* elsewhere in Persia, 20 *qráns* abroad Size of page, 12" × 7½" Editor *Afsahu'l-Mutakallimín*

(162)

Khayru'l-Kalám (*The Best of Discourses*) خیر الکلام

A paper published at Rasht, originally lithographed, afterwards printed, in A H 1325 (=A D 1907) under the editorship of *Afsahu'l-Mutakallimín* Of this paper 80 numbers a year were published, and in witty writing it was one of the most amusing of all the Persian newspapers Its editor in A.H 1325 (=A.D. 1907) incurred the displeasure of Amír Khán Sardár, entitled [illegible] the then Governor of Gílán who from motives of [illegible]

caused him to be severely bastinadoed On regaining his freedom he fled to Tihrán, and there renewed the publication of his paper, of which, however, only six numbers were published in the course of two months, when it was again transferred to Rasht. During its later days (A H 1328–9 = A D 1910–11) the paper was Democrat in politics

See Rabino, No 99, who gives the 24th of Jumáda ii, A H 1325 (= August 4, 1907), as the date of the first issue at Rasht, where the paper was still continued in A.H. 1329 (= A D 1911) when he wrote He adds that Nos 13–19 of the First Year were published at Tihrán, and that it was issued at Tihran from the 25th of Dhu'l-Ḥijja, A H 1325, until the 23rd of Safar, A H 1326 (= Jan 29, 1908, until March 27, 1908)

(163)

Khayru'l-Kalám (*The Best of Discourses*) خير الكلام

A paper printed in Tihrán towards the end of A H 1325 (= A D 1907–8) under the editorship of *Afsahu'l-Mutakallimín* Only six numbers appeared in the course of six months at Tihrán, when it was again transferred to Rasht Latterly the politics of the paper were Democrat

See Rabino No 99 I possess a fairly complete set extending from No 1 of the First Year (Aug 4, 1907) to No 5 of the Fourth Year (26th of Jumáda i, A H 1329 = May 25, 1911) The last two numbers only are lithographed the rest printed Each number comprises 4 pp of 17″ × 7″ Yearly subscription, Rasht, 25 *qrans*, elsewhere in Persia, 30 *qráns*, Russia, 6 roubles

(164)

Khayr-andísh (*Well meaning*) خير انديش

A paper lithographed in Tabríz which first appeared on the 2nd of Rabí' i, A H 1327 (= March 24 1909), in the Turkish language This statement is quoted from Rabino, but the writer has great doubts as to the existence of such a paper at that date, which corresponded with the later days of the siege of Tabríz, a time of great distress and severe want, nor have I been able to trace it by enquiries of the leading personages of that period

See Rabino, No 100 I possess No 1 of this paper, from which it appears that the year of publication was A H 1326, not 1327, so that the date of its first publication was April 4, 1908, and the difficulty raised above is solved. My copy consists of a single sheet (2 pp) only of 12″ × 6¾″ Price, 1 *sháhí* in Tabríz, 1½ *sháhís*

(165)

Dáru'l-'Ilm (*Home of Learning = Shíráz*).

A weekly paper lithographed in Shíráz in A.H. 1327 (= A.D. 1909) under the editorship of Mírzá 'Ináyatu'lláh, [illegible] *Tawliya* of Shíráz, known as "The Hand from the Unseen" (*Dast-i-Ghayb*).

See Rabino, No. 101 I possess Nos 9, 12, 14, 16, of which the first is dated the 22nd of Shawwál, A H 1327 (= Nov 6, 1909) Each number comprises 8 pp. of 10" × 5¾" Yearly subscription, 17 *qráns* in Shíráz, 22 *qráns* elsewhere in Persia, 25 *qráns* in Europe and America, 5 mejidiyyés in Turkey and Egypt.

(166)

Dánish (*Knowledge*).

A fortnightly newspaper lithographed in Tihrán in A.H. 1299 (= A D 1881–2) Concerning it the *I'timádu's-Saltana* writes: "The late *Mukhbiru'd-Dawla* founded this paper in the *Dáru'l-Funún* when he was Director of that College and Minister of the Press out of rivalry with the late *I'timádu's-Saltana*." *Zaká'u'l-Mulk* writes "The newspaper *Dánish* was printed in the *Dáru'l-Funún*, and was written by the late Mírzá Kázim, Professor of Chemistry The first number of it was published on Rajab 23, 1299 (= June 10, 1882), and the last on Safar 12, A H 1300 (= Dec 27, 1882) Two numbers were published monthly, and in all fourteen numbers appeared"

Not in Rabino, and not seen

(167)

Dánish (*Knowledge*)

A weekly paper lithographed in Tihrán in A.H. 1299, the first number being dated the 22nd of Dhu'l-Hijja in that year (= Nov. 4, 1882).

Not mentioned by Rabino, and not seen

(168)

Dánish (*Knowledge*).

A weekly newspaper printed in Tihrán in [illegible] A.D. 1910) under the editorship of the wife of [illegible]



تاره گلسه احترام ۰



گلسه احترام (بر آیدان سوکرا)

Before and after the Honeymoon

(From *Mulla Nasr ud Din*, Year III No. 5, Feb. 16, 1908)

[illegible] the Oculist (*Kahhál*). This is the only Persian newspaper written exclusively for women and discussing topics of special interest to women.

See Rabino, No 102, according to whom No 4 was issued on the 22nd of Shawwál, A.H. 1328 (=Oct 27, 1910) I do not possess a copy

(169)

Dabistán (*The School*) دبستان

A fortnightly paper lithographed in Tabríz in the earlier part of A H 1324 (= A D 1906) under the editorship of Mírzá Rizá, Principal of the "Parwarish" College

Not in Rabino, and not seen

(170)

Dabíriyya. دبيريه

A publication in the form of a newspaper produced at Rasht under the editorship of *Dabíru'l-Mamálik*, and containing poems and literary articles Though not in the strict sense of the word a newspaper, but rather resembling a tract or irregular leaflets, yet, as it bore some resemblance to a newspaper, it is mentioned here amongst them

See Rabino, No 103 I possess two numbers, one dated only with the year (A H. 1326), the other dated the 15th of Rabí' ii of that year (= May 17, 1908) Each consists of a single sheet of 12" × 8½", printed on one side only, and each contains one single poem only

(171)

Dastúr دستور

A newspaper printed at Rasht twice a week in Rajab, A.H 1328 (= July, 1910), of which three numbers only were published.

See Rabino, No 104, from whom the above particulars are derived He describes it as a religious paper I possess No 2, dated the 18th of Rajab, A H 1328 (= July 28, 1910) It comprises 4 pp of 14½" × 10" Yearly subscription, 25 *qráns* in Rasht, 30 elsewhere in Persia It describes itself as "a historical, political and ethical paper, supporting the independence of Persia"

(172)

Da'watu'l-Islám (*The Preaching of Islám*) دعوة الاسلام

A fortnightly religious paper lithographed in Bombay in A.H. 1324 (= A.D. 1906), under the editorship of Sayyid

Muhammad 'Alí of Isfahán, called *Dá'i'l-Islám* ("The Missionary of Islám").

See Rabino, No 105, who gives the date of the first and last issue as Ramadán, A H 1324 (=Oct 19, 1906), and the 1st of Jumáda ii, A H 1325 (=July 12, 1907). I possess Nos 1–19 (with a few lacunae), of which Nos. 15 and following are printed, not lithographed Each number contains 8 pp of 9¼" × 6½" Yearly subscription, 3 rupees in India, 15 *qráns* in Persia 1½ mejidiyyés in Turkey, 3 roubles in the Caucasus and Turkistán and 7 francs in Europe, China and Egypt

(173)

Da'watu'l-Haqq (*The Preaching of the Truth*) دعوة الحق

A monthly religious magazine printed in Tihrán in A H 1321 (=A D 1903–4) under the editorship of Shaykh Muhammad 'Alí of Dizfúl, known as *Bahjat*, a Member of the Second National Assembly, and proprietor of the *Ma'arif* Library and newspaper

See Rabino, No 106, according to whom this paper was first issued on the 1st of Sha'bán, A H 1321 (=Oct 23, 1903) Only 10 numbers appeared in the First Year Not seen

(174)

Difá'iyya (*Defence*) دفاعيه

A paper lithographed in A H 1329 (=A D 1911) under the editorship of Afsah-Záda, of which only one number appeared.

See Rabino, No 107, from whom this information is derived

(175)

Díwán-i-'Adálat (*The Court of Justice*) ديوان عدالت

A weekly paper printed in Tihrán in A H 1328 (=A.D 1910) under the editorship of *Mudabbiru'l-Mamálik* of Hirand, editor of the *Tamaddun* ("Civilization" see *supra*, Nos 106–108).

Not in Rabino, and not seen

(176)

Ráh-i-Khayál (*Fancy's Way*). راه خيال

A weekly paper printed in Rasht in A.H 1329 (=A.D. 1911) under the editorship of *Afsahu'l-Mutakallimín*, the editor of the

Khayru'l-Kalám, who founded it when the last-named paper was suspended. In politics it was Democrat.

See Rabino, No. 108, who gives the first of Sha'bán, A H 1329 (=July 28, 1911), as the date of inception. I have no copy

(177)

Ra'd (*Thunder*) رعد

A weekly newspaper printed in Qazwín in A H 1329 (= A.D. 1911) under the editorship of Sayyid 'Alí, written by Shaykh 'Abdu'l-'Alí of Tihrán, known as *Mubad*, editor of the paper *Madí* (*q v*) Democrat in politics

See Rabino, No 109, who gives Rabí' ii, A H 1329 (= April, 1911), as the date of inception. I possess Nos 1, 2 and 4 (the first dated April 23, 1911). Each comprises 4 pp of 12½" × 6¾". Yearly subscription, 6 *qráns* in Qazwín and 8 *qráns* elsewhere in Persia

(178)

Rúhu'l-Amín (*The Trusty Spirit*) روح الأمين

A weekly newspaper printed in Tihrán in A H 1326 (= A D. 1908–9)

See Rabino, No 110. I do not possess a copy of this paper

(179)

Rúhu'l-Qudus (*The Holy Spirit*) روح القدس

A paper printed in Tihrán in A H 1325 (= A D. 1907–8) under the editorship of the *Sultánu'l-'Ulamá* of Khurasán. This paper achieved a special notoriety on account of its extraordinary boldness, and published in its thirteenth number a personal attack on Muhammad 'Alí Sháh and his anti-constitutional actions, threatening him with the fate of Louis XVI, King of France, and recalling the Great French Revolution. In consequence of this article it was suppressed, but after a while resumed publication. The editor of this newspaper was a man of extraordinary convictions and zeal, and took a personal share in the National efforts to defend the Constitution. Thus he participated *vi et armis* in the struggle between the Nationalists and the troops of Muhammad 'Alí Sháh on the occasion of the

Reactionary *Coup d'État* of June 23, 1908, and fought valorously in defence of the *Majlis*. Finally he was taken prisoner, was confined in chains in the Bágh-i-Sháh, and ultimately suffered a martyr's death, and was thrown into a well. The politics of the paper were Revolutionary

See Rabino, No 111, according to whom the paper first appeared on the 25th of Jumáda ii, A H 1325 (=August 5, 1907), while No 26 appeared on the 18th of Rabí' ii, A H 1326 (=May 20, 1908) I possess the celebrated No 13 (published on Nov 5, 1907) alluded to above, and the article in question will be found translated on pp 156–161 of my *Persian Revolution* The paper comprises 4 pp of 11″ × 6½″ Yearly subscription, 12 *qráns* in Tihrán, 17 *qráns* elsewhere in Persia, 5 roubles in Russia, and 10 francs in other foreign countries

(180)

Rúznáma-i-Írán-i-Sultání روزنامهٔ ایران سلطانی

(*The Royal Gazette of Persia*)

An official fortnightly newspaper printed in Tihrán in A H 1321 (= A.D 1903–4) under the management of Mullá Muhammad *Nadímu's-Sultán* (formerly *Nadím-bashí*, or Chief Attendant at the Court), at that time Minister of Publications, and edited and written by *Afzalu'l-Mulk*, "Deputy-Minister of Publications and Accountant of the Supreme Court" This paper was the original *Írán* (*q v*), thus renamed when it was placed in charge of the *Nadímu's-Sultan* Its first number was published early in the month of Muharram in that year (April, 1903) At the top of the title-page it bore the following inscription "This Royal paper, which appears by special command and enjoys the particular regards of His Most Sacred and Imperial Majesty, is entirely free from all control or limitation, and whatever it writes is truly written" (!) Of its more pleasing contents one portion was devoted to literary matters Amongst these was the "*Nisáb* of Abu'z-Zafar Sádiq-i-Faráhání," an imitation of the well-known rhymed vocabulary of Abú Nasr-i-Faráhí known as the *Nisáb-i-Sibyan*, composed by Mírzá Sádiq Khán *Adíbu'l-Mamálik*, poetically named *Amírí*, editor of the newspaper *Adab* This rhymed glossary of old Persian words began to appear in No 4 of the paper, and was continued in the succeeding numbers, one *chakáma*, or canto, being published in each. I possess the whole in manuscript, and here subjoin a

specimen some verses from the beginning of the first *chakáma*, written in the metre called *Khafíf* ("The Light")

آن بُتِ شوخِ چشمِ مه سیما،   نظمِ فرهنگ فُرس جُست از ما،
فاعلاتن مفاعلن فعلن،   شو بحرِ خفیف چامه سرا،
پاك یزدان و ایزدست خدا،   هُده حق زنده حیّ عیان پیدا،
دان نبی را پیمبر و وخشور،   خاندان اهلِ بیت و خانه کسا،
شرع آئین نظام دهاد است،   حکم فرمان روش بود یاسا،
گرزمان عرش و زیرکه کرسی،   هست کرْفَه بزه ثواب و خطا،
نار دوزخ صراط چینود است،   باغ مینو بهشت روح افزا،
کارِ به نافله چست سُنّت،   ناروا منع شد حلال روا،
سحر فرهست و معجزه فرهود،   نیر فرخاد فاضل دانا،
کعبه آباد خوان نوی فرقان،   کنگ دژهوخت مسجد الاقصی،

This *changáma* comprises more than forty couplets, and includes in its verses many unfamiliar and obsolete words to which it assigns definite scientific meanings

The year A H 1321 (= A D 1903–4) in which the *Rúznáma-i-Írán-i Sultání* first appeared under this title is described at the top of the page as the "fifty-sixth year of publication," and so is continued until it came to an end in A H 1324 (= A D 1906–7), which is described as the "fifty-ninth year of publication" Now the first foundation of a Government newspaper in Persia was in A H 1267 (= A D 1850–1), before which date we are unaware of the existence of any newspaper, and this is confirmed by the following passage in the third volume of the *Muntazam-i-Násirí* treating of the events of the year A.H 1267 "It was also in this year that there was founded in this Empire of eternal duration, that is to say in the glorious metropolis thereof, a Government newspaper containing domestic and foreign news, commercial advertisements, etc" Now according to this computation, the year A H 1321 would be the fifty-fifth, not the fifty-sixth, of this foundation, and in order to solve this difficulty I wrote to H.E. the *I'timádu's-Saltana*, who returned the following answer, which I give *verbatim*.

"The solution of this difficulty is as follows. During the period of the late lamented *I'timádu's-Saltana* and the earlier period of my management of the paper, no allusion was ever made in the title of the newspaper to the year of its foundation. But when the management of the paper passed into the hands of the *Nadímu's-Sultan*, he changed the title of the old *Írán* to *Rúznáma-i-Írán-i-Sultání*, and added the words 'fifty-sixth year' at the top of the page Afterwards when *Mujiru'd-Dawla*, the writer of the paper, withdrew for a while from it, and it was written by *Afzalu'l-Mulk*, at this juncture an error of two years crept into the computation When I again accepted this service, I repeatedly called the attention of *Mujiru'd-Dawla* to this error, but he always replied, 'There is no need to reverse this act or revise this date, for it is now a thing of the past' It is, however, certain that there was an error here"

As a specimen of the manner in which the contents of the newspapers of that period were edited, I here append a paragraph of a few lines occurring in No 4 of this paper, dated Tuesday, Safar 21, A.H 1321 (= May 19, 1903), under the heading of "Court News, which runs as follows

"Praise be to God, the auspicious and fortunate person of His Most Sacred Majesty, the Shadow of God on this earth (may our lives be his sacrifice!), is in the extreme of health and happiness, and daily devotes attention to matters of importance conducive to the well-being of the community On the ninth day of this month His Most Sacred Majesty, the Shadow of God, attended by the nobles of the Court and intimates of the Royal Threshold, set out for a stay of some days at the village of Kan, situated at a distance of two parasangs from Tihrán, in order to divert and refresh the mind, and to practise horsemanship and marksmanship There they alighted in Royal state, with all due pomp and circumstance, and signal splendour and glory, and abode in that village several days and nights. Every day until after noon His Majesty busied himself with the perusal of the reports received from the different Ministries and Governors, and with reading telegrams from the home provinces and remoter districts of Persia, while in the afternoon he employed his auspicious time in marksmanship and the chase

On the morning of Wednesday the fifteenth he returned from Kan to the capital of Tihrán, which is the Abode of the supreme Sovereignty, in order to deal with various domestic and foreign affairs."

It is worth noting that this specimen of journalistic style belongs to the latter period of Muzaffaru'd-Dín Sháh's reign, only a short time before the Constitution was proclaimed!

Not in Rabino I possess No 4 of this paper, dated Safar 21, A.H 1321, and May 19, 1903. It comprises 8 pp of 9" × 6½", and is very well printed in double columns.

(181)

Rúznáma-i-Tabríz (*The Tabríz Gazette*) روزنامهٔ تبریز

A newspaper published in Tabríz in A.H 1275 (= A D 1858–9) of which mention is made in the *Ruznáma-i-Waqáyi'-i-Ittifáqiyya* (see footnote on the article dealing with that paper) As the correct title of this newspaper is unknown to us, we have placed it under the above title, but it is very probable that it is that same *Tabríz* which was afterwards revived when Muzaffaru'd-Dín was Crown Prince

(182)

Rúznáma-i-Hakímu'l-Mamálik روزنامهٔ حکیم الممالك
(*The Hakímu'l-Mamálik's Journal*)[1]

A paper printed in Ṭihrán under the editorship of Mírzá 'Alí Naqí the physician, son of Áqá Isma'íl, a Jew converted to Islám, entitled *Hakímu'l-Mamálik*, chief page-in-waiting (*Písh-khidmat-báshí*) of Násiru'd-Dín Sháh This man, having completed his studies in Europe, returned to Persia in A H 1278 (= A.D 1861–2), received the title of *Hakímu'l-Mamálik* during the Sháh's journey to Khurásán in A H 1284 (= A D 1867–8), and was made Governor of Burújird in A H 1293 (= A.D 1876) Násiru'd-Dín Sháh was himself the writer of this newspaper, though he attributed it by way of a joke to the *Hakímu'l-Mamálik*, under whose signature it was published In all, three numbers were published, all written by Násiru'd-Dín Sháh Of these one describes the emotions of a young man who comes forth

[1] The proper name of this paper is not certainly known, and it has been inserted under this title only for the sake of introducing it to the reader

from his house on a Spring morning to enjoy the Spring season, another the emotions of an old man who likewise takes the Spring, and the third the Ascension to Heaven (*mi'ráj*) of the *Hakímu'l-Mamálik*, which led to his being denounced as an infidel and to the paper being discontinued These three sheets are very amusing (The last particulars are taken from a letter from H E the *I'timadu's-Saltana*)

As is well known, Násiru'd-Dín Sháh used to "chaff" the *Hakímu'l-Mamálik* a great deal, especially on the journey to Khurásán, when the Sháh himself composed, in the form of a panegyric, some verses satirizing him As these verses are not lacking in wit, some of them are here given

ای حکیم الممالک سلطان، که بشاگردیت سزد لقمان،
ای فلاطون ترا کمینه غلام، ای ارسطو بپیش تو نادان،
لیکن اوصاف حکمتت‌را من، نکنم بر جهانیان پنهان،
سقمات‌را چو می برند بروم، زیره کوئی برند در کرمان،
گر بگیری تو نبض بیماری، روز محشر بگیردت دامان،
گر معالج شوی بمسکینی، ندهی فرق گوش از دندان،
زعفران گر دهی بگریه شود، آنکه بودی بصبح وشب خندان،
خواهی از داروئی نمائی سحق، جای هاون بیاوری سندان،
اثر ملح خواهی از شکّر، خشکی معده جوئی از ریحان،

هر دوائی که می دهی بمریض، واجب است استخارهٔ قرآن،
چون بعجز آئی از علاج کسی، مدد و بخت جوئی از شیطان،
گر شفا یافت از تو بیماری، داد عمر دو بارهٔ اش یزدان،
گر تو باشی طبیب یك دو سه سال، کس نماند بخطّهٔ ایران،
اینچنین بو العجب فلاطون‌را، شاید از شه نوازد از احسان،

(183)

Rúznáma-i-Dawlat-i-'Aliyya-i-Írán روزنامهٔ دولت علیّهٔ ایران

(*Journal of the Sublime State of Persia*)

A paper lithographed in Tihrán early in A.H 1277 (July-Aug. 1860), and containing accounts of happenings in the

various provinces of Persia, and portraits of statesmen and persons of note, with narratives of their circumstances Probability points to its having succeeded the *Waqáyi'-i-Ittifáqiyya* ("Fortuitous Events"), which assumed this new name in about the 470th issue

See Rabino, No 112, according to whom No 471 (*i e* the first number of the *Waqáyi'* which appeared under the new name) was dated the 28th of Muharram, A.H 1277 (=Aug 11, 1860), while No 565 was dated the 17th of Jumáda ii, A.H 1281 (=Nov 17, 1864)

(184)

Rúznáma-i-Dawlatí (*State Journal*) روزنامهٔ دولتی

A paper lithographed in Tihrán, containing domestic, foreign and Court news I have seen No 622 of this paper, which is dated Thursday the 7th of Jumáda ii, corresponding to the auspicious Year of the Leopard, A H 1285 (=Sept 25, A D 1868) Above the title on the first page stand the Lion and the Sun, over which is written "Printed in the Victorious Abode of the Caliphate" (*Dáru'l-Khiláfa*, *i e* Tihrán) "in the Blessed College of the *Dáru'l-Funún*, in the workshops of the State Printing-Press Price of each copy, 14 sháhís, yearly subscription, in addition to the *Ruznama-i-'Ilmí* ('Scientific Gazette') and the *Rúznáma-i-Millatí* ('National Gazette'), 36 *qráns*" This paper, according to the most probable conjecture, succeeded the previously-mentioned *Rúznama-i-Dawlat-i-'Aliyya i-Írán* (No 183 *supra*). A brief account of both of these papers has been given in the Introduction (pp 10 *et seqq*)

I possess No 622, mentioned above It comprises 2 pp of 11½" × 6", bears a large Lion and Sun on the top of p 1, and is lithographed in good *ta'líq*

Not mentioned by Rabino

(185)

Rúznáma-i-Rasmí-i-Dawlat-i-Írán روزنامهٔ رسمی دولت ایران
(*Official Gazette of the Persian Government*)

A daily paper printed in Tihrán in A.H 1329 (= A.D 1911) under the editorship of the *Mu'ayyidu'l-Mamálik*, editor of the *Párs-i-Írán* (*q.v.*) It used to publish full reports of the debates

of the Second National Assembly, and its publication was continued

See Rabmo, No 113, who says that three numbers a week were published, and that the date of inception was the 18th of Rabí' ii, A H 1329 (= April ...). I possess No 1, which, in fact, is so dated It comprises 50 pp of 10" x ..." printed in three columns Yearly subscription, 45 qráns in Tihrán, 55 elsewhere in Persia, 70 abroad

(186)

Rúznáma-i-Shaykh Fazlu'lláh روزنامهٔ شیخ فضل الله

(*Shaykh Fazlu'lláh's Journal*)

A paper lithographed at Sháh 'Abdu'l-'Azím in A.H. 1325 (= A D 1907–8) on behalf of the Reactionaries (Shaykh Fazlu'lláh-i-Núrí and his confederates) who had taken sanctuary in the above-mentioned shrine, and who remained there, at the instigation and by the encouragement of Muhammad 'Alí Mírzá, the deposed Sháh, for nearly five months, endeavouring to subvert the Constitution During this period they used to publish a paper for the propagation of their ideas amongst the common people, with the professed object of demanding the *Sharí'at* (or Religious Law of Islám, as opposed to any *Qánún*, or Civil Law), and denouncing as a blasphemous innovation the *Majlis* and the Constitution Of this paper some 19 numbers appear to have been published, mostly under the name and title of "Objects of those now in sanctuary in the Holy Shrine," but sometimes under that of "Explanation of the pious objects of the Proof of Islam and the Muslims, and the other fugitives in sanctuary at the Holy Shrine," or under the heading of the verse from the *Qur'án* (viii, 48), "*And obey God and His Apostle, and be not refractory, lest ye be discouraged, and your success depart from you, but persevere with patience, for God is with those who persevere*" Nearly all of the contents of these issues were quoted and refuted in the *Hablu'l-Matín*

For lack of certainty as to the correct title, this paper is placed under the descriptive title given above

(187)

Rúznáma-i-'Ilmí (*The Scientific Gazette*) روزنامهٔ علمی

A newspaper published in Tihrán in A.H 1293 (= A.D. 1876), concerning which *Zaká'u'l-Mulk* writes "This paper was ...

... Khán *Saní'u'd-Dawla.* In all, sixty-four numbers of it were published, the first dated the 22nd of Dhu'l-Hijja, A.H. 1293 (= Jan. 8, 1877), and the last the 23rd of Jumáda II, A.H. 1297 (= June 2, 1880)

Not in Rabino, and not seen

(188)

روزنامهٔ علمیّهٔ دولت علیّهٔ ایران

Rúznáma-i-'Ilmiyya-i-Dawlat-i-'Aliyya-i-Írán
(*Scientific Gazette of the Sublime State of Persia*)

A monthly newspaper lithographed in A H 1280 (= A D. 1863–4) under the management of 'Alí-qulí Mírzá *I'tizádu's-Saltana,* Minister of Sciences, of which the first number was published on Sha'bán 1 of the above year (= Jan 11, 1864), and the last number on Shawwál 1, A H 1287 (= Dec 25, 1870) In all, 53 numbers were published This paper was sometimes spoken of by the abbreviated title of *Rúznama-i-'Ilmí,* and was published under the same management as the *Rúznáma-i-Millatí* and *Rúznama-i-Dawlatí,* the combined subscription for all three being 36 *qiráns* It was sometimes issued in three languages, Persian, Arabic and French, and sometimes only in the two last, as in the case of No 52, which I possess, and which is dated "Tuesday the eleventh of Mihr-máh in the auspicious year 792 of the Jalálí era," or in the concurrent Arabic portion, Rajab 1, A H 1287 (= Sept 27, 1870) The contents of this number consist for the most part of investigations into the nature of a certain form of literary composition used by modern writers and entitled "prose-verse" (*Shi'r-i-manthur*), or, as the paper puts, "a kind of poetry which in truth one may consider as intermediate between verse and prose" On this subject it puts forward an explanation referring to the invention of this method by Abu'l-'Alá al-Ma'arrí (d A H 449 = A D 1057–8), afterwards by Muzaffar b. Ibráhím, the blind Egyptian (d A H 623 = A.D. 1226); and still later by Khwája Mas'úd, known as *'Ismat,* of Bukhárá; and gives some specimens of discourses and anecdotes in this kind of poetry The Arabic is an exact translation of the Persian portion of the paper, which is indeed a useful and

admirable production. In this same number it refers to previous remarks on the same subject in the last issue of the *Rúznáma-i-Millatí*, where some mention is made of Sayyid 'Alí Mihrí of Jabal-'Ámil and of some of his verses of this sort, which indicates that both papers dealt with common topics

The number of this paper alluded to above comprises one sheet of the size customary in Persia, folded into four pages, of which one is blank On the top of the first page, under the title *Rúznáma-i-'Ilmiyya-i-Dawlat-i-'Aliyya-i-Írán*, stand the words "No 52 yearly subscription, in conjunction with the *Rúznáma-i-Dawlatí* and the *Rúznama-i-Millatí*, 36 *qráns*. Printed in the Victorious Capital, in the auspicious *Dáru'l-Funún* College, in the Government Printing-press" There is also an illustration, which appears to represent the *Shamsu'l-'Imára* and the *Maydán-i-Túp-i-Marwáríd*

Rabino (No 114) mentions No 2 of this paper, dated the 26th of Bahman-máh in the year 785 of the Jalálí era, and No 4, dated the 9th of Farwardín máh in the year 786 of the same era Although nominally the paper was published monthly, yet it is evident that it appeared at irregular intervals The total number of issues and the dates of the first and last numbers are given on the authority of H E. *Zaká'u'l-Mulk* I possess the above mentioned No 52, which comprises 4 pp (one blank) of 12" × 7½" The Persian portion is lithographed in *ta'líq* and the Arabic in *naskh*

(189)

Rúznáma-i-Millatí (*The National Journal*) روزنامهٔ ملّتی

A paper lithographed in Ṭihrán in A H 1283 (= A D 1866–7). At the top of the page it bore the figure of a mosque, a conventional sign of its National character Mírzá Fath-'Alí Ákhúndoff of Tiflís wrote a long and laughable criticism of this paper, analyzing one of its numbers which had come under his notice, and of which more than half was taken up with an account of the genealogy and circumstances of a poet who bore the *nom de guerre* (*takhallus*) of *Surúsh* and the title of *Shamsu'sh-Shu'ará* ("Sun of the Poets"), and with two of his poems, a *qaṣída* and a *ghazal* The criticism in question begins as follows "On Friday the 14th of the month of Rabí'u'l-Awwal A H 1283 (= July 27, 1866) I happened to see in Tiflís a copy of the *Rúznáma-i-Millat-i-Írán* under circumstances which will be mentioned below. First of all I read this sentence 'It has been ordered

had determined on the Illustrious part of His Imperial Majesty (may God immortalize his Kingdom and Sovereignty!) that the *Rúznáma-i-Millí* shall be written in the freest fashion, so that gentle and simple may share alike in its advantages' The meaning of this sentence is " etc

Zaká'u'l-Mulk writes "The *Ruznama-i-Millati* used to be published, together with the *Ruznáma-i-Dawlati* and the *Ruznáma-i-'Ilmí*, under the superintendence of the late *I'tizadu's-Saltana* Its first number was dated Friday, the 14th of Rabí' 1, A.H. 1283 (=July 27, 1866), and its last number the 20th of Jumáda II, A H 1287 (=Sept 17, 1870) It was published monthly, and in all 33 numbers appeared Its contents consisted chiefly of the biographies of eminent poets"

I'timádu's-Saltana writes "Another paper was the *Ruznáma-i-Millat-i-Írán* [of which the first number was] dated Wednesday, Muharram 15, A H 1283 (=May 30, 1866) This paper appeared while Mírzá Muhammad Khán *Sipahsálár* was Prime Minister, and was under the management of the Ministry of Sciences"

As may be seen from the above, there exists a certain discrepancy and contradiction as to the date of this paper's first appearance, unless, indeed the *Rúznáma-i-Millat-i-Íran* is a different paper from the *Ruznama-i-Millatí*, which seems somewhat improbable

Not in Rabino, and not seen

(190)

Rúznáma-i-Millí (*The National Journal*) روزنامهٔ ملّی

A quarto-sized weekly paper lithographed in Tabríz in A H 1324 (= A D 1906 7), the first number of which appeared on Ramazán 1st (= Oct 19, 1906) of that year This was the first newspaper published in Tabríz after the Revolution and the Proclamation of the Constitution Its founder and editor was Mírzá 'Alí Akbar Khán, son of the well known Sayyid Háshim of Charandáb, who used at first to sign under the *nom de guerre* of *Surúsh-i-Ghaybí* ("The Angel from the Unseen World"), but who afterwards wrote under his own name when, in the latter part of the same year, the paper changed its title to *Jarída-i-Millí* (see No. 123, *supra*) A little later, namely in the early

part of A.H 1325 (= Feb–March, 1907), it again changed its name, and was published under the title of *Anjuman* (see No. 64, *supra*) This paper, and likewise its successors, *i e* the *Jarída-i-Millí* and the *Anjuman*, were produced under the supervision and at the expense of the *Anjuman-i-Millí*, or National Council, of Tabríz

See Rabino, No 115 I do not possess a copy

(191)

Rúznáma-i-Nizámí (*The Military Newspaper*) روزنامهٔ نظامی

A paper published in Tihrán, of which Mírzá Husayn Khán *Sipahsalar* was probably the founder In any case it was founded before A H 1296 (= A D 1879), for, as *Zaká'u'l-Mulk* states in a letter, its place was taken in that year by the *Mirríkh* (*q v*).

Not in Rabino, and not seen

(192)

Rúznáma-i-Waqáyi'-i-Ittifaqiyya روزنامهٔ وقایع اتفاقیه
(*Journal of Current Events*)

A weekly newspaper lithographed in Tihrán in A H 1267 (= A D 1850–1), concerning which something has been already said in the Introduction This was the first Persian newspaper published in Persia, and was started while Mírzá Taqí Khan *Amír-i-Nizám* was Prime Minister At first, *i e* until the appearance of No 16, dated Rajab 21, A H 1267 (= May 22, 1851), it was published every Friday, but afterwards until the end of its career on Thursdays The yearly subscription was 24 *qráns*, while a single copy cost 10 sháhís It was published very regularly and punctually, without any delay, sometimes comprising one sheet of the size usual in Persia (4 pp), like Nos 1 to 9, sometimes 6 pp, like Nos 17, 23, 24 and 25–40, sometimes 8 pp., as was generally the case in its middle and later period, occasionally regularly for some considerable time, though still numbers comprising 4 or 6 pp would appear occasionally.

This paper continued publication until A H 1277 (= A.D. 1860–1), after which period it apparently received the title of

Rúznáma-i-Dawlat-i-'Aliyya-i-Írán (q v) There exists a complete set of this paper in the State Library at Tihrán, while Nos. 409–456 inclusive are preserved in the British Museum under the class-mark 757 I 12 amongst the Periodical Publications I myself possess Nos 7–444

"The first number of this paper," writes the *I'timádu's-Saltana*, "appeared on Friday the 5th of Rabí' ii, A H 1267 (= Feb 7, 1851), and bore only the superscription 'O Victorious Lion of God!' ('*Yá Asada'lláhi'l-Ghálib!*'), but subsequently it bore the title *Waqáyi'-i-Ittifáqiyya* with the Lion and the Sun"

Zaká'u'l Mulk writes "Originally, that is in the time of Mírzá Taqí Khán *Atabak*, when the paper was first founded, Hájji Mírzá Jabbár *Tazkira-chi* and the father of the present *Sa'du'd-Dawla*, who owned a printing-press, were instrumental in producing and circulating the paper, which was written by a certain Mírzá 'Abdu'lláh No 474 of this paper, which I have seen and possess, is dated the 18th of Rabí' ii, A H 1277 (= Nov 3 1860)"

See Rabino, No 116, who states that it was published by the Ministry of the Press, that No 261 was dated the 22nd of Jumada i, A H 1273 (=Jan 18, 1857), and that it "appears to be the same newspaper which Mirza Taqi Khan *Amir Nizam* founded about A H 1265 (= A D 1848–9) in the early part of the reign of Nasiru'd Din Sháh" I do not possess an original copy, but have a transcript of No 8

(193)

Rahbar-i-Írán-i-Naw (*The Guide of the New Persia*) رهبر ایران نو

A daily paper printed in Tihrán in the latter part of A H 1329 (= A.D 1911) It was the successor of the *Írán-i-Naw*, which, after its suppression, appeared under this name, but only one number was published See above under No 77

Not in Rabino, and not seen

(194)

Rahnamá (*The Guide*) رهنما

A weekly paper printed in Tihrán in A H 1325 (= A D 1907) under the editorship of 'Abdu'lláh Qájár

See Rabino, No 117, who gives the date of inception as the 26th of Jumáda ii, A.H. 1325 (= August 6, 1907) I possess Nos 1, 3, 5–10, 12, 14 and 23, the first dated as above, the last the 21st of Rabí' i A H 1326 (= April 23, 1908) Each

number comprises 8 pp of 12¾" × 7½", with a large coloured title (the colour varying in each number) illustrating the idea of Progress with a railway-train, a steamer, a lighthouse and factories Yearly subscription, 15 *qráns* in Tihrán, 20 *qráns* elsewhere in Persia, and 25 *qráns* abroad

(195)

Zarárit Bahrá (*The Ray of Light*) ܙܗܪܝܪܐ ܕܒܗܪܐ

A religious paper published in the Chaldaean (Syriac) tongue by the Protestants in Urmiya It is under American direction.

Not in Rabino, and not seen

(196)

Záng (*The Bell*) Զանգ

A weekly paper printed in Tabríz in A H 1328 (= A D 1910) in the Armenian language This paper was the organ of the Armenian Hanchákists

See Rabino, No 233 Not seen by the translator

(197)

Záyanda-rúd زاینده رود

An illustrated weekly newspaper lithographed in Isfahán in A H 1327 (= A D 1909) under the editorship of the *Mu'inu'l-Islám* of Khwánsár In politics it was Democrat

See Rabino, No 118 I possess Nos 10, 37 and 39 of the Second Year, and Nos 3, 7, 9 and 13 of the Third Year, the first dated the 19th of Rabí i, A H. 1328 (= March 31, 1910), and the last the 27th of Rabí' ii, A H 1329 (= April 27, 1911). All these numbers are printed except the first, which is lithographed, and a rather rude lithographed caricature or cartoon occupies the last page of each printed number. Each number comprises 8 pp of 12" × 6½" Yearly subscription, in Isfahán 16 *qráns*, elsewhere in Persia and abroad, 24 *qráns*

(198)

Zabán-i-Millat (*The Tongue of the Nation*) زبان ملت

A paper printed in Tihran twice a week in A H 1325 (= A.D. 1907)

See Rabino, No 119 I possess No 3, which is dated the 28th of Ramadán, A H. 1325 (= Nov. 4, 1907), and comprises 4 pp of 11¼" × 6¾" Yearly subscription, 15 *qráns* in Tihrán, 18 *qráns* elsewhere in Persia, and 12 francs abroad.

(199)

Zisht u Zíbá (*Foul and Fair*) زشت و زیبا

An illustrated weekly paper lithographed in Tihrán in A H 1325 (= A D 1907) under the editorship of *Fathu'l-Mamálik*

See Rabino, No 120, where the date of inception is given as the 2nd of Jumáda ii, A H 1325 (=July 13, 1907) I possess Nos 1, 2 and 3 Each comprises 8 pp of 12" x 7¼" Yearly subscription, 30 *qrans* in Tihrán, and the same plus postage elsewhere in Persia

(200)

Zamán-i-Wisál (*The Time of Union*) زمان وصال

A weekly paper printed in Rasht in A H 1329 (= A D 1911) under the editorship of Mírzá 'Alí Asghar of Shíráz entitled *Násiru'sh-Shu'ará*

See Rabino, No 121, who states that only eight numbers appeared, the first on the 19th of Jumáda i, A H 1329 (= May 18, 1911), and the last on the 22nd of Rajab (=July 19) of the same year I possess Nos 1, 2 3, 5, 7 and 8 Each comprises 4 pp. of 12½" x 6½" Yearly subscription, 10 *qrans*

(201)

Sáhil-i-Najat (*The Shore of Safety*) ساحل نجات

A paper printed in Anzalí twice a week in A H 1325 (= A D 1907) under the editorship of *Afsahu'l-Mutakallimín*, the editor of the *Khayru'l-Kalam* (*q v*)

See Rabino, No 122, who states that only eight numbers were published, the first on the 26th of Rajab, A H 1325 (= Sept 4 1907) I possess Nos 1-5, but No 1 is dated not as above but the 7th of Sha'bán (=Sept 22) of the same year Each number comprises 4 pp of 12" x 7" Yearly subscription, 18 *qrans* in Gílan, 20 *qráns* elsewhere in Persia 5 roubles in Russia and the Caucasus, and 14 francs in Europe

(202)

Sáhil-i-Naját (*The Shore of Safety*) ساحل نجات

A daily paper printed in Rasht in A H 1328 (= A D 1910) under the editorship of *Afsahu'l-Mutakallimín*

See Rabino, No 122 I possess Nos 8-13, the former dated the last day of Shawwál, A H 1328 (= Nov 3, 1910) Each number comprises 4 pp of 12" x 7" Yearly subscription, 25 *qráns* in Rasht 30 *qráns* elsewhere in Persia, 6 roubles in Russia.

(203)

Siráju'l-Akhbár (*The Lamp of News*) سراج الاخبار

A fortnightly paper lithographed in the *nasta'líq* hand in Kábul (Afghánistán) in A H 1329 (= A D 1911) Its editor and chief writer was Mahmúd Tarzí, and it was under the supervision of 'Alí Ahmad the Chief Chamberlain (*Ishik-ághásí*) of His Majesty the Amír The first number was dated the 5th of Shawwál (= Oct 10) of the above year

Not in Rabino, and not seen

(204)

Surúsh سروش

A paper published in Rasht in A H 1325 (= A D 1907). Given on the authority of Rabino

See Rabino, Nos 123 and 124, where mention is made of the Constantinople and Tihrán papers of this name, but no mention of such a paper at Rasht

(205)

Surúsh سروش

A weekly newspaper printed in Constantinople in A H 1327 (= A D 1909–1910) under the editorship of Sayyid Muhammad Tawfíq It was founded during the time of the Persian Revolution or the "Lesser Autocracy" (June, 1908–July, 1909) by the *Anjuman-i-Sa'ádat-i-Iraniyan*, and received contributions from the pens of Mírzá 'Alí Akbar Khán (formerly a regular contributor to the *Sur-i-Isráfíl*, *q v*), Ahmad Bey Aghayeff, and Hájji Mírzá Yahyá of Dawlatábád

See Rabino, No 123, who erroneously describes it as lithographed According to him it first appeared on the 12th of Jumada ii, A H 1327 (= July 1, 1909)

(206)

Surúsh. سروش

A paper printed in Tihrán in the latter part of A.H. 1328 (= A.D. 1910) under the editorship of 'Azudu'l-Islám of Láhiján. It was written by Mírzá 'Ísá Khán (the Sardár-i-Mansúr's ...) of Rasht, who signed under the letter *'ayn* (ع), and enjoyed the

support of the Sardár-i-Mansúr and his followers. In politics it was Moderate.

See Rabino, No 124, according to whom it first appeared on the 23rd of Dhu'l-Qa'da, A.H. 1328 (=Nov 26, 1910)

(207)

Sa'ádat (*Felicity*) سعادت

A weekly paper printed (*not* lithographed) in Hamadán in A.H. 1325 (=A.D 1907)—not 1326—under the editorship of Muhammad Taqí Niráqí

See Rabino, No 126 I possess Nos 43, 46 and 47 Each comprises 4 pp of 11½" × 7" Yearly subscription, 10 *qráns* in Hamadán 15 *qráns* elsewhere in Persia, 4 roubles in Russia and the Caucasus No 43 is dated the 10th of Safar, A H 1326 (=March 14, 1908)

(208)

Sa'ádat (*Felicity*) سعادت

A fortnightly paper printed (*not* lithographed) in Tabríz in A.H 1329 (=A D 1911) The first number was dated the 23rd of Rabí' ii (= April 23) of that year It was edited by Sa'íd-záda, the Superintendent of the Madrasa-i-Sa'ádat, and founded by Mírzá Ibráhím, the Director of the above-mentioned College Its contents were purely academical and literary

See Rabino, No 125 I possess No 4, dated the 8th of Jumada ii, A H 1329 (=June 6, 1911) It comprises 4 pp of 11½' × 9½' Yearly subscription, 5 *qráns* in Tabríz, 10 abroad

(209)

Safína-i-Naját (*The Ark of Deliverance*) سفينهٔ نجات

A weekly paper first "jelly-graphed" and then lithographed at Yazd in A H. 1325 (=A D 1907) under the editorship of Muhammad Sádiq.

See Rabino, No 127, according to whom the paper was first issued on the 22nd of Shawwál, A H 1329 (=Nov 28, 1907) He adds that on the arrival of the Bakhtiyárí chief Sardár-i-Jang as governor at Yazd this paper was suppressed, on account of the publication of a caricature of the Sardar, and his Deputy Mudíru'd Dawla and his Treasurer Mushíru'l-Mamálik The latter was represented in the form of a dog, while a dog's tail was visible under the Mudíru'd-Dawla's coat, and both of them were urging the Sardár to take money from the people. As it was supposed that this caricature had been produced by lithography on the gelatine process in the workshops of the *Safína-i-Naját*, the paper was suppressed I possess Nos 3, 6, 16, 20 and 21

of the First Year, and No. 19 of the Second Year. The first is dated the ... Shawwál, A.H. 1325 (as stated above by Rabino), and the last the ... of ... Qa'da, A.H 1328 (=Nov 25, 1910) Of the six numbers which I possess, the ... three are "jelly graphed" and the last three lithographed Each contains 4 pp. 10¼" × 6" (later enlarged to 12⅞" × 6½"), and is written in a large, clear ... hand. Yearly subscription, 20 qráns in Yazd, 25 qráns elsewhere in Persia, and ... abroad

(210)

Sikandar (*Alexander*) سكندر

A weekly newspaper published every Sunday in Calcutta in A H 1262 (= A D 1846)

Mentioned in Zenker's *Bibliotheca Orientalis*, No 1829, but not by Rabino. Zenker gives the title in Roman characters only Not seen

(211)

Salám 'alaykum! (*Peace be upon you!*) سلام عليكم

A paper published in Tihrán in A H 1325 (= A D 1907).

Not in Rabino, and not seen

(212)

Salsabíl. سلسبيل

A paper "jelly-graphed" in Tihrán in A H 1328 (= A D. 1910).

See Rabino, No 128, on whose authority the paper is given

(213)

Sultánu'l-Akbar (*The Greatest King*) سلطان الاكبر (؟ الاخبار)

A weekly newspaper published every Sunday in Calcutta in A.H 1262 (= A D 1846)

Mentioned in Zenker's *Bibliotheca Orientalis*, No 1830, but not in Rabino, and not otherwise known It appears probable that there may be a mistake in the name of this paper, and that Zenker never saw it, but only its title written in Roman characters, in which what was probably its real title *Sultánu'l Akhbár* ("The King of News") might easily be corrupted into the obviously incorrect title *Sultánu'l-Akbar*.

(214)

Sayyidu'l-Akhbár (*The Lord of News*). سيد الاخبار

A large-sized weekly newspaper lithographed at Haydarábád in the Deccan in A.H. 1306 (= A D 1888–9) under the editorship of Áqá Sayyid Áqá Shírází. It was published regularly ...

Saturdays, and comprised eight large-sized pages. Amongst the Periodical Publications in the British Museum, under the class-mark 757 m. 1, are preserved 35 numbers of this paper, of which No. 1 is dated the 4th of Rabí' ii, A H 1306 (= Dec 8, 1888), and No 35 the 5th of Dhu'l-Hijja, A H 1306 (= August 2, 1889) At the top of each title-page stands the Lion and the Sun, beneath which are placed some Arabic and Persian verses in praise of the newspaper, of knowledge, etc, which verses are textually repeated in each number Beneath these in turn the name of the newspaper is contained and inscribed in the following hemistich

خیّد اخبار عالم سیّد الاخبار شد

(The *Sayyidu'l-Akhbar* is the best newspaper in the world)

This paper (like the present day papers in Persia) was very instructive, containing full information, foreign news and telegraphic despatches It translated from the English papers important political articles about Persia and Russia, and generally wrote against Russia and its designs in Persia Some of its numbers contain particulars as to the third and last journey of Násiru'd-Dín Sháh in Europe, which corresponded in time with those issues. In No 35 there appears an announcement concerning the reduction in size of the newspaper in the forthcoming number.

One rather comic incident is that in the later numbers the editor complains much about the non-payment of subscriptions, and in one of them he writes in praise of Tabríz, its leading men, and the progress of science and education there Finally, after giving a most brilliant and glowing account of Mírzá Yúsuf Khán *Mustasháru'd-Dawla* of Tabríz, he observes that the above-mentioned personage has been "graciously pleased" to remit the full amount of his subscription to the newspaper. In the first number he complains very much of obtaining permission in Haydarábád to publish the paper, and describes the editor's protracted wanderings in pursuit of this object At the end of each copy is the signature "Sayyid Áqá yi-Shírází, owner and editor of the paper,"

In some numbers he reproduces matter from the newspaper *Farhang* published at Isfahán, while in the tenth number he publishes an attack on and refutation of the Persian paper *Asád* (apparently published in Delhi), which in the fourth number of the fifth volume, published on Friday, Feb. 1, 1889, attacks and reviles the higher circles of Haydarábád in the Deccan, and the newspapers of that place, which do not enjoy freedom. From this it appears that a paper named *Asád*, otherwise unknown to us, was published in India in A.D. 1885 (= A.H. 1302–3).

I possess No. 34 of the second volume, dated Ramazán 21, A.H. 1307 (= May 11, 1890). It comprises 12 pp. of 12″ × 7¾″, and is lithographed in a fairly good *ta'líq*.

(215)

Sháhseven (*The King-lover* —name of well known tribe) شاهسون

A "jelly-graphed" paper produced in Constantinople about A.H. 1306 (= A.D. 1888–9) or perhaps a little earlier, which vehemently criticized in a comical and sarcastic vein the autocratic Government of Persia. The production and publication of this paper was attributed to Hájji Mírzá 'Abdu'r-Rahím Tálibóff and some of his associates, who were aided in its publication by Sayyid Muhammad Shabistarí Abu'z-Ziyá, afterwards editor of the *Írán-i-Naw*, who was at that time in Constantinople and shared in this enterprise; indeed it appears to have been reproduced from his handwriting. It was published secretly, and the issue was limited to 300 copies, which were placed in envelopes like letters and sent with various precautions to statesmen, theologians, merchants and others in Persia. Often, in order to conceal the place of publication, they were first sent to Paris, London, etc. to be forwarded thence to Persia. At the top of one copy which I possess stands the inscription, "Published once in forty years." In the portion devoted to "telegraphic news" occurs the following passage:

"The British Consul at Hamadán has sent an official communication to the Government in which he complains that there is a public bath in the neighbourhood of the Consulate, and that the Consulate is sorely troubled by the filth thereof, and by the

infection which emanates from it, by reason of which two of its employés have died, and requesting that the Government will either close the bath, or provide a more suitable place for the Consulate"

Another runs as follows

"Our correspondent of the Foreign Telegraphic Agency in Tihrán observed a great activity, accompanied by much haste and bustle, in the principal avenues, where most of the notables, ministers and leading personages of the kingdom, mounted in their carriages, were rapidly driving one after another in a particular direction Before he had succeeded in ascertaining the true state of the case, he telegraphed to London stating that on that day a serious political crisis had arisen in Ṭihrán, and that an important movement was visible in official circles After having despatched this telegram, he applied himself to the investigation of this matter and its real nature, and after a while was compelled, with the utmost shame, to send another telegram contradicting his first conjecture, and stating that it now appeared that all these gentlemen were merely going to attend a commemorative religious function (*majlis-i-rawza-khwání*) given by one of the great ecclesiastics (*mujtahidín*) of Tihrán"

There are many telegrams of this sort whereof the above (of which only the substance, not the exact phraseology, is given) will suffice to serve as a sample

I have only seen one copy of this paper

(216)

Sháhinsháhí (*The Imperial*) شاهنشاهی

A weekly illustrated paper lithographed in Tihrán in A.H 1323 (= A D. 1905–6) under the editorship of Mírza 'Abdu'l-Husayn Khán, entitled *Maliku'l-Mu'arrikhín* ("The King of Historians")

See Rabino, No 134, who gives the date of inception as the 9th of Shawwál, A.H. 1323 (= Nov 7, 1905) I possess Nos 18, 21, 26, 43, 44, 45 46 and 47 The first is dated the 13th of Rabí' I A H 1324 (= May 7, 1906), and the last the 13th of Muharram, A H. 1325 (= Feb. 26, 1907) Each number has on p 1 the portrait of some notable Persian or foreign statesman, and comprises 4 pp. of 12" × 6¼" Yearly subscription, 16 qráns Similar in form and character to the *Sharaf* and *Sharáfat*. (See *infra*.)

(217)

Shab-náma (*Nocturnal*).

A publication which appeared in Tabríz about [illegible] (= A.D 1892–3) and circulated for some time, but [illegible] regular or journalistic fashion, but only amongst a [illegible] those who were inspired by the new ideas in a very [illegible] manner. These publications were sarcastic and very [illegible] and were written by 'Alí-qulí Khán, editor of the *Iḥtiyáj* [illegible] the *Ázarbayján* (q v), who was at that time known as Aqá-qulí. The name *Shab-náma* was, however, subsequently applied in a general way to all secret "jelly-graphed" publications. One or two specimens may be given of the contents of the *Shab-náma*, though it is difficult to give the preference to one over another. Concerning the deplorable condition of bread and the detestable confusion of the bread-market it wrote

"Yesterday I sent the servant to get a loaf of bread for luncheon from the bazaar He went early in the morning, and returned three hours after dusk, his clothes torn to rags, his face scratched, and his body wounded and bruised, bringing one cake of 'pebble bread' (*nán-i-sangak*), on which, by reason of our extreme hunger, we incontinently fell and tore it in pieces. Out of it fell the objects enumerated below one night-shirt; one ewer and basin, one head of , one bundle of , one [illegible] etc."

Concerning the mud in the streets he writes

"A string of camels sunk in the mud in the main street in front of the Royal Gynaeceum, and disappeared from sight. They afterwards reappeared in the bed of the Ájí River (distant about one parasang)" And so on

Not in Rabino I possess one *Shab náma* of Nov 1906, written in Turkish. It consists of a single sheet of 14" × 8⅝", "jelly graphed" in violet ink A cartoon occupies the upper half of the page, and below it are thirteen lines of letterpress. There is no date, title, or indication of author or place of publication.

(218)

Shajara-i-khabítha-i-Kufr شجرهٔ خبیثهٔ کفر | شجرهٔ طیبهٔ ایمان
Shajara-i-ṭayyiba-i-Ímán

(*The foul Tree of Infidelity the good Tree of Faith*).

A lithographed publication which appeared in T[illegible] A.H. 1325 (= A.D. 1907–8).

[illegible] in Rabino, and not seen.

(219)

[illegible]). [illegible]

[illegible] illustrated paper lithographed in Tihrán in A.H. [illegible] A.D. 1896-7) under the management of the Ministry of [illegible]. It was a continuation of the newspaper *Sharaf* [illegible]), and was founded by Muhammad Báqir Khán, the [illegible] *I'timádu's-Saltana*, early in the reign of Muzaffaru'd-Dín Sháh.

[illegible] Rabino, No 129, who says that No 3 was issued in Rabí' II, A H 1314 ([illegible]-Sept. 1896) I possess No 51, dated Rajab, A H 1318 (=Oct -Nov. [illegible]). It comprises 4 pp of 13″ × 7½″, and the front page is adorned with a portrait of the Atábak-i A'zam (*Amínu's Sultán*) Yearly subscription, 12 *qráns*

(220)

Sharáfat (*Nobility*) شرافت

A monthly paper lithographed in Tihrán in A H 1326 (= A D 1908) under the editorship of Áqá Sayyid Husayn, Director of the *Sharáfat* Library This paper has a special importance inasmuch as it was written in very popular language, in the idiom of the Tihrán "Mashhadís" (common people), and was sold at a very low price, so that it had a considerable influence on the humbler classes It was instructive as regards subject-matter, and strongly supported the fullest form of Constitutional Government.

See Rabino, No 130, who describes this paper as bi weekly, and gives the date of No. 1 as the 4th of Safar, A H 1326 (= March 8, 1908) I possess Nos 8, 22, 23, [illegible], [illegible] and 26. Each number comprises 4 pp (with continuous pagination through out the "set," or *dawra*, of 40 numbers) of 12½″ × 6¾″ Subscription for the "set" of 40 numbers, 3 *qráns* in Tihran, 5 *qráns* elsewhere in Persia, and 6 *qráns* abroad

(221)

[illegible] (*Honour*). شرف

A monthly illustrated paper lithographed in Tihrán, of which the first issue was published on the first of Muharram, A H 1300 (= Nov. 12, 1882). This paper and its successor the *Sharáfat* ([illegible], No. 219) used to publish portraits of nobles and [illegible], accompanied by explanatory and biographical matter, [illegible] enjoyed a certain distinction and value by reason of the [illegible] of these portraits, which were executed by *Kamálu'l-*[illegible] the well-known Persian artist Muhammad Hasan Khán

I'timádu's-Saltana founded this paper, of which in all 78 numbers were published

* See Rabino, No 131, according to whom this paper lasted until A H. 1309 (= A D 1891) and published in all 87 numbers I do not possess a copy

(222)

Sharaf (*Honour*) شرف

A weekly paper printed (not lithographed) in Tihrán in A H. 1326 (= A D 1908) under the editorship of Ghulám Husayn of Tihrán

See Rabino, No 132 I possess No 1, which is dated the 17th of Rabí' ii, A H 1326 (= May 19, 1908) It comprises 4 pp of 11" × 7" Yearly subscription, 5 *qráns* in Tihran, 6 *qráns* elsewhere in Persia, and 5 francs abroad

(223)

Sharq (*The East*) شرق

A daily paper of large *format* printed in Tihrán in A H 1327 (= A D 1909) under the editorship of Sayyid Ziyá'u'd-Dín Tabátabá'í (son of Sayyid 'Alí of Yazd), who was also editor of the *Nidá-yi-Islám* ("Call of Islám") and *Barq* ("Lightning," *q v*). This newspaper, in consequence of its violent and revolutionary attacks on those at the head of affairs, was several times suspended, and finally changed its name and came out under the title of *Barq* Many numbers of this paper contained one page in French Under the title of "literary contributions" (*adabiyyát*) there appeared in this newspaper poems, criticizing in a metaphorical manner the doings of the Government, which, in point of literary value were both important and beautiful, and, by reason of their natural simplicity and approximation in style to the colloquial language, were as distinguished in merit as they were plain in language, and, alike by virtue of their novelty and their originality, are worthy to be taken as models and exemplars The writer of these verses was a poet of Kirmánsháh In politics this newspaper originally represented the views of the Party of Union and Progress, but afterwards became Revolutionary

See Rabino, No. 123 I possess a fairly complete set, including No 1, which is dated the 14th of Ramazán, A H 1327 (= Sept 30, 1909) Each number comprises

4 pp of 21¼"×14½", and the French supplement first appears in No 91 (June 18, 1910). Yearly subscription, 45 *qráns* in Tihrán, 50 *qráns* elsewhere in Persia, and 56 *qráns* abroad

(224)

Shafaq (*The Afterglow*) شفق

A weekly paper printed in Tabríz in A.H 1328 (=A D 1910). Its owner and editor was Mírzá Hájji Áqá Rizá-záda, the editorship was subsequently transferred in name to Mírzá Mahmúd Ghaní-záda of Salmás, editor of the *Faryad, Bú Qalamún*, etc This paper was remarkable for its boldness and violent writing, and especially in consequence of its patriotic articles became the object of vehement hatred on the part of the Russians, so that on the occasion of their aggressions in Muharram, A H 1330 (=January, 1912), they arrested and hanged one of its contributors, Mírza Ahmad, known as "Suhaylí," and suppressed the paper It published some poetical fragments in the new style, rhymed in the European fashion In politics it was Democrat

See Rabino, No 136, according to whom it was first issued on Ramazán 27, A H 1328 (=Oct 3, 1910) I possess a good many copies, including Nos 1 and 22 of the First Year, and Nos 1–40 (with some gaps) of the Second Year, the last dated the 18th of Dhu l Hijja A H 1329 (=Dec 21, 1911) Each number contains 4 pp of 15¾"×9" Yearly subscription, 7 *qráns* in Tabríz, 10 *qráns* elsewhere in Persia, and 14 *qráns* abroad

(225)

Shafaq (*The Afterglow*) شفق

A "jelly-graphed" paper published in Khúy

See Rabino, No 137, on whose authority it is included here

(226)

Shakar (*Sugar*) شکر

A weekly paper lithographed in Tabríz in A H 1325 (=A.D. 1907) under the editorship of Muhammad Alí Abdu'l-Manáf-záda.

See Rabino, No 135 I possess a copy of No 3, which is dated the 17th of Rabí' 1, A.H 1325 (=April 30, 1907) It comprises 4 pp of 12¼"×6¾", and is written in Ázarbáyjání Turkish, and lithographed in a poor but legible *ta'líq* Yearly subscription, 5 *qráns* in Tabríz, 7 *qráns* elsewhere in Persia, and 2 roubles in Russia.

[illegible] (*The Sun*)

A weekly illustrated paper printed in Constantinople in A.H. 1327 (= A.D 1909) under the editorship of Sayyid [illegible] Tawfiq of Basra, and owned by Sayyid [illegible] In politics it is Moderate

See Rabino, No 138 I possess a fairly complete set from the beginning [illegible] is dated the 8th of Sha'bán, A H 1326 (= Sept 5, 1908), and the paper is still appearing Each number contains 8 pp of 9″ × 6½″, but since the end of the Second Year the size of the paper has been considerably enlarged Yearly subscription 60 piastres in Constantinople, 75 piastres elsewhere in Turkey, 35 *qráns* in Persia, 6 roubles in Russia, and 17 francs in Europe

(228)

Shams-i-Ṭáli' (*The Rising Sun*) شمس طالع

A paper printed in Tihrán in A H 1325 (= A D 1907).

See Rabino, No 139 I do not possess a copy

(229)

Shúrá-yi-Írán (*The Council of Persia*) شورای ایران

A weekly paper published in Tabríz in A H 1326 (= A.D. 1908). It was founded and published by the *Anjuman-i-Mashwarat* ("Society of Council"), and was jointly written by these three martyred patriots Mírzá Sa'íd of Salmás, Áqá Sayyid Hasan Sharíf-záda, and Hájjí 'Alí *Dawá-furúsh* ("The Druggist"). Its politics were Conservative and Moderate Constitutional

See Rabino, No 140, according to whom No 2 was dated the 19th of Rabí' II, A.H. 1326 (= May 21, 1908) I do not possess a copy

(230)

Shúrá-yi-Baladí (*The Municipal Council*) شورای بلدی

A weekly paper published in Tihrán in A H 1325 (= A.D. 1907).

Not in Rabino, and not seen

(231)

[illegible] (*The Little Path*)

An illustrated paper in the Armenian language lithographed in Tihrán in A.D. 1911 (= A.H. 1310–11).

See Rabino, No. 134. Not seen by the translator.

(232)

Shaykh Chughundar (*The Reverend Beetroot*) شیخ چغندر

A weekly illustrated comic paper lithographed in Tihrán in A.H. 1329 (= A.D. 1911), of which the first number was dated the 15th of Shawwál of that year (= Oct 8, 1911). Its proprietor, Mír Fath ʻAlí, and its editor, Abu'l-Maʻálí, known as Sayyid-i-Áhan-bardár ("The Iron-lifter"), were both reactionaries, but the paper was connected with the Party of Agreement and Progress (*Ittifáq u taraqqí*).

See Rabino, No. 241. I possess a copy of No. 3, dated the 28th of Shawwál, A.H. 1329 (= Oct. 22, 1911). It comprises 4 pp. (pp. 2 and 3 containing caricatures) of 12½″ × 6⅞″, lithographed in *taʻlíq*. Yearly subscription, 12 *qráns* in Tihrán, 20 *qráns* in other parts of Persia, 30 *qráns* abroad.

(233)

Shaydá (*Madcap*) شیدا

A serio-comic illustrated fortnightly paper printed in Constantinople in A.H. 1329 (= A.D. 1911) under the editorship of Muhammad Ziyá'u'd-Dín. It was founded by a committee of Persian students. Its proprietor and writer was Hájjí Hasan Khán Jaʻfar-záda, its managing editor Muzaffar Khán Ismáʻíl-záda, and its artist-illustrator Mírzá ʻAbdu'l-Husayn Khán Táhir-záda. Not more than four or five numbers of it were issued. In politics it was Democrat.

Not in Rabino. I possess Nos. 1–5, the first dated the 29th of Shawwál, A.H. 1329 (= Oct. 23, 1911), and the last the 2nd of Muharram, A.H. 1330 (= Dec. 24, 1911), with a supplementary sheet dated the [illegible] day. Each number comprises 4 pp., including, as a rule, two caricatures (on [illegible] of 13¾″ × 8″. Yearly subscription, 15 *qráns* in Persia, 30 piastres in C[illegible]

(234)

[illegible]

A paper published in Shíráz in A.H. 13[illegible] (= A.D. 1910).

See Rabino, No. 141. I do not possess a copy.

(235)

Ṣubḥ-i-Ṣádiq (*The True Dawn*).

A daily paper printed in Ṭihrán in the early part of A.H. 1325 (= Feb–March, 1907) under the editorship of Murtaḍá-qulí Khán *Mu'ayyidu'l-Mamálik*, editor of the *Pulís-i-Írán* (*q.v.*).

See Rabino, No 142, according to whom the paper first appeared in Ṣafar (March–April) of that year, and was subsequently edited by Mahdí-qulí Khán *Mu'ayyid-i Díwán* I possess 16 copies, ranging from No 32 (May 14, 1907) to No 149 (Oct 8, 1907) Each number comprises 4 pp. of 11¾" × 6¾", Yearly subscription, 45 *qráns*

(236)

Ṣubḥ-náma (*Morning Letter*)

A weekly "jelly-graphed" paper published in Tihrán in A.H. 1324 (= A D 1906) before the proclamation of the Constitution and for a short time after it Its editor and writer was Áqá Sayyid Muhammad Rizá of Shíráz, editor of the *Musáwát* ("Equality") This paper was circulated secretly, and not more than seventeen or eighteen numbers were published It opposed the autocracy, and was revolutionary in politics

See Rabino, No 143 I do not possess a copy

(237)

Ṣuḥbat (*Conversation*)

A paper in the Ázarbayjání Turkish dialect lithographed in Tabríz in A.H 1327 (= A D 1909), under the editorship of Mírzá Husayn Khán, editor of the papers *al-Hadíd*, *'Adálat* and *Khabar* In consequence of having published in No 4, by way of a joke, an article in Turkish entitled *Kej Qáburqá* ("The Crooked Rib") on the evils of the veiling of women and the necessity of improving their condition, it drew upon itself the violent hostility of the clergy and common people, as a result of which the paper was suspended and the editor arrested and imprisoned after judgement had been given against him.

Not in Rabino, and not seen

(238)

Ṣiḥḥat (*Health*)

A paper published in Tihrán in A H 1325 (= A.D. 1907).

Not in Rabino, and not seen

(239)

Ṣadá-yi-Rasht (*The Rasht Echo*) صدای رشت

A paper printed in Rasht twice a week early in A.H. 1329 (= A.D. 1911) under the editorship of '*Ayn* Ahmad-záda, Democrat in politics.

See Rabino, No 144 The paper first appeared on the 16th (not the 29th as Rabino states) of Muharram (=Jan 16, 1911) of that year I possess Nos 1–16 Each contains 4 pp of 15″ × 10½″ Yearly subscription, 25 *qráns* in Rasht, 30 *qráns* elsewhere in Persia, 35 *qráns* abroad

(240)

Ṣadáqat (*Fidelity*) صداقت

A paper lithographed in Tihrán in A.H. 1320 (= A.D. 1908)

Not in Rabino, and not seen

(241)

Ṣiráṭu'ṣ-Ṣanáyi' (*The Way of Arts*) صراط الصّنایع

A paper published in Tihrán in A.H. 1326 (= A.D. 1908)

Not in Rabino, and not seen

(242)

Ṣiráṭu'l-Mustaqím (*The Straight Way*) صراط المستقیم

A paper published in Tabríz in A.H. 1324 (= A.D. 1906–7)

Not in Rabino, and not seen

(243)

Ṣiráṭu'l-Mustaqím (*The Straight Way*) صراط المستقیم

A paper published in Tihrán in A.H. 1325 (= A.D. 1907)

Not in Rabino, and not seen.

(244)

Ṣúr-i-Isráfíl (*The Trumpet call of Isráfíl*) صور اسرافیل

A weekly paper printed in Tihrán in A.H. 1325 (= A.D. 1907). Its proprietor and editor was Mírzá Jahángír Khán of Shíráz; the second editor and publisher was Mírzá Qásim Khán of Tabríz; while its chief contributor was Mírzá 'Alí Akbar Khán

[illegible] Qazwín, known as *Dihkhudá* or *Dakhaw*. It is [illegible] of the best of the Persian papers, old and new, [illegible] the comic or satirical portion, entitled *Charand Parand* [illegible] sari"), is the best specimen of literary satire in [illegible] became the special object of hostility on the part of the [illegible] tionaries, and its editor Mírzá Jahángír Khán, who was [illegible] on the occasion of the bombardment of the *Majlis* (June [illegible] 1908), was put to death by strangling by order of Muhammad 'Alí Sháh. One of the most important incidents in the history of this paper was its controversy with the clergy and its critical remarks on the decline of the Islamic nations through the Doctors of Divinity, which appeared in No 4, and gave rise to a great outcry amongst the *Mullas* and common people, and led to the suppression of the paper for about two months. In No 7 there appeared a defence proving its innocence, which is also worthy of attention The literary style of this paper, was modelled, so far as the serious portion was concerned, on the style of Mírzá Malkom Khán, and greatly resembled his writings, while the comic or satirical portion was inspired by the Turkish *Mullá Nasru'd-Dín*, published at Tiflis In politics the *Súr-i-Isráfíl* was Liberal and thorough-going Constitutionalist.

See Rabino, No 145, according to whom this paper first appeared on the 17th of Rabí' ii, A.H 1325 (=May 30, 1907), and was brought to an end on the 20th of Jumáda i, A H 1326 (=June 20, 1908), three days before the bombardment of the *Majlis*, and four days before the editor, Mírzá Jahángír Khán, was put to death by Muhammad 'Alí Sháh I possess an almost complete set Each number comprises 8 pp. of 11⅞" × 6¾" Yearly subscription, 12 *qráns* in Tihrán, 17 *qráns* elsewhere in Persia, and 20 *qráns* abroad

(245)

Súr-i-Isráfíl (*The Trumpet-call of Isráfíl*) صور اسرافیل

A weekly paper printed at Yverdon in Switzerland in the beginning of A H. 1327 (= A.D. 1909) under the editorship of Mírzá 'Alí Akbar Khán *Dihkhudá*, formerly on the staff of the Tihrán *Súr-i-Isráfíl* Not more than four numbers of the Swiss edition were published, and the paper did not possess its former eloquence and sweetness

See Rabino, No. 145 No 1 was dated the first of Muharram [illegible] [illegible], and No 3 the 15th of Safar (= March 8) of the same [illegible]

[illegible] appearance closely resemble the old *Tihrán* [illegible] [illegible] used for the headings of articles. Yearly subscription, [illegible] francs [illegible] [illegible] francs elsewhere in Persia, and 25 francs abroad

(246)

Ṭaríqu'l-Faláḥ (*The Way of Happiness*). طريق الفلاح

A paper published in Tihrán in A.H. 1325 (= A.D. 1907)

Not in Rabino, and not seen

(247)

Ṭulú' (*The Dawn*) طلوع

A comic illustrated paper lithographed in Bushire in A.H. 1318 (= A.D. 1900–1) under the editorship of 'Abdu'l-Ḥamíd Khán *Matínu's-Salṭana*, afterwards a Member of the Second *Majlis*

Not in Rabino, and not seen

(248)

Ṭús طوس

A bi-weekly paper printed in Mashhad in A.H. 1327 (= A.D. 1909) under the editorship of Mírzá Háshim Khán. The publication of the first number corresponded with the day on which the Second *Majlis* was opened in Tihrán

See Rabino, No. 146, according to whom the paper began on the first of Dhu'l-Qa'da, A.H. 1327 (= Nov. 14, 1909), and ended on the 15th of Sha'bán, A.H. 1328 (= August 22, 1910), 57 numbers being published in all. I possess Nos. 2, 8, 18, 29, [illegible] and 34. The first two are of a smaller size (12½″ × 6¼″), the later numbers are larger (16″ × 11″). Yearly subscription, 30 *qráns* in Mashhad, 35 *qráns* elsewhere in Persia, and 7 roubles in Russia and the Caucasus

(249)

Ṭihrán طهران

A paper printed in Tihrán in A.H. 1326 (= A.D. 1908) under the editorship of Ḥájji Mírzá Hasan of Tabríz, known as *Rushdiyya*.

See Rabino, No. 147, according to whom the paper began on the 7th of Rabí' I, A.H. 1326 (= April 9, 1908), and appeared twice a week. I possess Nos. [illegible] and [illegible], [illegible] 4 pp. of 12⅞″ × 6¾″. Yearly subscription, 12 *qráns* in Tihrán, [illegible] [illegible] in Persia, [illegible] roubles abroad

(250)

Tirat (*Admonition*)

A weekly paper lithographed in Tabríz in A.H. 1324 (= A.D. 1906).

Not in Rabino, and not seen

(251)

'Adálat (*Justice*) عدالت

An illustrated weekly paper lithographed in Tabríz in A.H. 1324 (= A.D. 1906) under the editorship of Mírzá Mahmúd Khán known as *Hakkák-báshí* ("The Seal-engraver"), and afterwards of Mírzá Sayyid Husayn Khán, editor of the newspapers *al-Hadíd*, *Suhbat* and *Khabar* (q.v.) This paper succeeded *al-Hadíd*, and both of them were founded by the above-mentioned Mírzá Sayyid Husayn Khán

See Rabino, No 148, according to whom it reached the Third Year of publication. I possess a good many numbers, ranging from No 15 of the First Year (dated the 11th of Sha'bán, A.H. 1324 = Sept 30, 1906) to No 4 of the Third Year, dated Jumáda 1, A.H. 1325 (= June–July, 1907) Each number contains 8 pp. of 12" × 6¾", lithographed in fair *ta'líq*, but a few numbers are in *naskh* Only the later numbers contain illustrations of celebrated men like Mirabeau, Cicero, etc Yearly subscription, 22 *qráns* in Tabríz, 26 *qráns* elsewhere in Persia, 5 roubles in Russia, 13 francs elsewhere

(252)

'Adl-i-Muzaffar (*The Justice of Muzaffar*) عدل مظفر

A weekly paper "jelly-graphed" (afterwards printed) in Hamadán in A.H. 1324 (= A.D. 1906) under the editorship of [illegible] Hasan Khán Tabíb 'Alí It was established at the in[illegible]on and maintained by the support of *Zahíru'd-Dawla*, who was at that time Governor After some twenty numbers had been published, the paper changed its name to *Ekbátán* (Ecbatana) See No 59 *supra*

See Rabino, No 242 Not in my possession

(253)

'Iráq-i-'Ajam. عراق عجم

A weekly paper printed in Tihrán in A.H. 1325 (= A.D. 1907) under the editorship of Mírzá Sádiq Khán *Adíbu'l-M*[illegible]

sub-editor of the newspaper *Adab* It was published on the ... and at the charges of the political club called 'Iráq-i-'Ajam in Tihrán

See Rabino, No 149 I possess Nos. 5, 6, 8, 16–19, and 22, the first dated the 3rd of Jumáda i, A.H 1325 (=June 14, 1907), and the last the 12th of Dhu'l-Hijja of the same year (=Jan 16, 1908) Each number contains 4 or 8 pp of 12" × 6¾" Yearly subscription, 12 *qráns* in Tihrán, 17 *qráns* elsewhere in Persia, 5 roubles in Russia, 10 francs in Europe

(254)

'Urwatu'l-Wuthqá (*The Firm Hand-hold*) عروة الوثقى

A weekly newspaper printed in Tihrán in A H 1325 (= A.D 1907).

See Rabino, No. 150, who gives no further particulars I do not possess the paper

(255)

'Asr (*The Age*) عصر

A weekly paper printed in Tihrán in A H 1328 (= A D 1910), owned and written by Mírzá Áqá of Isfahán, known as ***Mujáhid***, and edited by Hájjí Shaykh Hasan of Tabríz, formerly editor of the ***Khiláfat*** (*q v*) In politics this paper was Moderate

See Rabino, No 151 I possess Nos 3–31 of this paper, the first dated the 17th of Dhu'l Hijja, A H 1328 (= Dec 20, 1910) and the last the 3rd of Sha bán, A H 1329 (= July 30, 1911) Each number comprises 4 pp of 14½ × 8¼" Yearly subscription, 10 *qráns* in Tihrán, 12 *qráns* elsewhere in Persia, 8 francs abroad

(256)

'Asr-i-Jadíd (*The New Age*) عصر جديد

A bi-weekly paper lithographed in Mashhad early in A.H 1328 (= Jan 1910) under the editorship of Sayyid H... ...A Músawí.

See Rabino, No. 152 I possess Nos 2, 4, and 18, the first dated the ... of Rabí' i, A H. 1328 (= April 4, 1910), and the last the 16th of Dhu'l Qa'da, A H 1328 (= Nov. 19, 1910) Each number contains 4 or 8 pp of 13" × 7", lithographed in a large naskh hand Yearly subscription, 16 *qráns* in Mashhad, 20 *qráns* elsewhere in Persia, and 25 *qráns* abroad

(257)

...-ámúz (*The Teacher of Knowledge*) علم آموز

A paper published in Tihrán in A.H 1325 (= A D 1907).

...

(258)

Ghayrat (*Zeal*)

A "jelly-graphed" newspaper secretly published in Tihrán [illegible] A.H. 1319 (= A.D 1901–2) by a secret society, and chiefly directed against the *Amínu's-Sultán* Something has been said about it in the Introduction (p 21 *supra*)

Not in Rabino, and not seen

(259)

Fárs فارس

A weekly newspaper lithographed in Shíráz in A H 1289 (= A.D. 1872–3), edited and written by Mírzá Taqi Khán of Káshán, editor of the *Farhang* (mention of which has been already made on p 12 of the Introduction), and Chief Physician (*Hakím-báshí*) of the *Zillu's-Sultan* The first number of this paper appeared on Sunday, the 9th of Shahríwar, in the year 794 of the Jalálí era, corresponding to the 25th of Jumáda II, A H 1289 (= August 30, 1872), and coincided with the first arrival of the *Zillu's-Sultán* at Shíráz on the occasion of his third appointment as Governor of Fárs The first 19 numbers of this paper are preserved in the British Museum amongst the periodical publications, under the class-mark M 2 757 These I have seen, but they are erroneously entered in the Catalogue as published at Isfahán.

This paper as originally issued comprised eight pages, four in Persian and four in Arabic, the latter being an exact translation of the former Only the first three numbers, however, appeared in this form, the Arabic part being discontinued from No 4 onwards, an announcement in that issue declaring it to be unnecessary No 19 is dated the 23rd of Day-máh in the year 794 of the Jalálí era, corresponding to the 6th of Dhu'l-Qa'da, A.H. 1289 (= Jan 5, 1873), so that the paper seems to have appeared regularly every week Its title appears in the form of a very intricate monogram in the *thuluth* script, the deciphering of which is somewhat difficult It appears to contain the words "printed in Fárs" At the top of the title-page stand the words "in the private printing-press in the Mirror-room of the Sanitary Government of the Province yearly subscription, 3 *túmáns* [illegible]

[illegible]

writer of the paper, Mírzá Taqí *Hakím-báshí*" The paper is written in a fine *nasta'líq*, and contains excellent verses composed by the poets of that period and sometimes by Mírzá Taqí Khán himself At the foot of the page are dissertations on various topics, written in the *díwání* hand, amongst these being a treatise on "the Education of Children," and another on "a Scientific Problem," dealing with the Creation of the Earth and the Science of Geology, which appeared in the eleventh and subsequent numbers At the beginning of the latter the author says that he has written and published separately a more detailed monograph on Geology All these treatises and articles are written by the editor himself

Not in Rabino, and not seen

(260)

Faraj ba'd az Shiddat (*Joy after Grief*) فرج بعد از شدت

A weekly paper lithographed in Tihrán

See Rabino, No 154, on whose authority it is here given He describes it as Conservative, and adds that only about seven numbers were issued I have not seen it

(261)

Farwardín فروردین

A weekly newspaper printed at Urmiya (Ázarbáyján) in A.H 1329 (=A D 1911) under the editorship of Mírza Habíb Áqá-záda, and written by Mírzá Mahmúd Khán Ashraf-záda This paper contained a comic or satirical section in Ázarbáyjání Turkish entitled "*Dághdán-Baghdán*" In politics it was Democrat

See Rabino, No 155, according to whom it first appeared on the 28th of Jumáda I, A.H. 1329 (=May 27, 1911) I possess No 2, which comprises 4 pp of 15¼"×9¼" Yearly subscription, 12 *qráns* in Urmiya, , *qráns* elsewhere in Persia, 18 *qráns* abroad. The above mentioned Mírzá Mahmúd Khan was beaten almost to death by Russian soldiers at the command of the Russian Consul at the time of the Russian aggressions in Azarbáyjan which began on Dec 20, 1911 A full account of this event was published in the Constantinople *Terjumán i Haqíqat* of Feb 11, 1912

(262)

Farhang (*Culture*) فرهنگ

A weekly newspaper lithographed in Isfahán in A.H. 1296, and edited by Mírzá Taqí Khán of Káshán, editor of the

newspaper *Fárs* (see above, No. 259), and after his death by [illegible] Mahmúd Khán, father of Mírzá Muhammad Khán, [illegible] *Farhangu'l-Mamálik*, under the general control of the *Zillu's-Sultán* One number of it, which lies before me (No. 364) is dated the 21st of Ramazán, A H 1303 (= June 23, 1886). The first page is numbered (in continuation of what precedes) 53, and at the end is the imprint "Manager and Editor, Mírzá Mahmúd Khán, writer, 'Abdu'r-Rahím" At the foot of the page is published an instalment of a book entitled "The War in the East of A D 1877," translated by Mírzá Kázim, Professor of Natural Sciences in the *Dáru'l-Funun* College of Tihrán

Some persons ascribe the original foundation and inception of this paper to Mírzá Husayn Khán (son of the late Mírzá Yúsuf Khán *Mustasháru'd-Dawla* of Tabriz) who is at present resident in Paris and was formerly physician to the *Zillu's-Sultán*, and say that he was its founder and originator

See Rabino, No 156, according to whom it first appeared (under the patronage of the *Zillu's Sultan*) on the 2nd of Jumada 1, A H 1296 (= April 24, 1879), and came to an end on the 12th of Muharram, A H 1308 (= August 28, 1890)

(263)

Farhang (*Culture*) فرهنگ

A weekly paper printed in Tihrán in A H 1325 (= A D 1907) under the editorship of the *I'tizadu'l-'Ulamá* Murtazá-yi-Sharíf.

See Rabino, No 157 I possess No 2, which is dated the 19th of Jumáda I, A.H 1325 (= June 30, 1907) It comprises 4 pp of 12" × 6¾" Yearly subscription, 12 *qráns* in Tihrán, postage extra in other parts of Persia, 3 roubles in Russia, 17 francs in Europe

(264)

Faryád (*The Lament*) فریاد

A weekly paper printed in Urmiya in A H 1325 (= A.D. 1907) under the editorship of Mírzá Mahmúd Ghaní-záda, editor of the *Shafaq* and *Bú Qalamun* (q v) It was written partly in Persian and partly in Turkish.

See Rabino, No 158. I possess No 22, which is dated the 27th of Sha'bán, A.H. 1325 (= Oct 5, 1907). It comprises 4 pp of 11" × 7¼" Yearly subscription, [illegible] *qráns* in Urmiya, 18 *qráns* elsewhere in Persia, 4 roubles in Russia, [illegible] in Turkey, and [illegible] francs in Europe.

(265)

Fikr (*Thought*) فکر

A weekly paper printed in Tabríz in A.H 1330 (=A.D 1912) Its proprietor and chief contributor is an Armenian named Alexander Dir Wartániyáns, one of the teachers in the Armenian College. This paper was founded after the Russian aggressions and executions of the Liberal and Nationalist leaders, the suppression of all the newspapers, the entry of Samad Khán *Shujá'u'd-Dawla* of Marágha into Tabríz, and the triumph of violent reaction (Muharram, A H 1330 = January, 1912), at the secret instigation of the Russians and with the encouragement of Samad Khán, in order to glorify the actions of the Russians in Persia and to belittle the Constitution It may be considered the only Persian newspaper in Persia which is an open traitor to its country. Amongst Persian newspapers it has, indeed, but one rival in this respect, namely the Transcaspian Gazette (*Majmú'a-i-Máwará-yi-Bahr-i-Khazar*), published at 'Ishq-ábád, which will be mentioned presently

As this paper was not started until after the publication of Rabino's Work, it is naturally not mentioned by him, nor have I seen it, though quotations from it amply sufficient to prove its detestable and unnatural tone have been published in the *Habl'u'l Matín* and other papers

(266)

Fikr-i-Istiqbál (*The Thought of the Future*) فکر استقبال

A paper printed in Constantinople in A H 1328 (= A D 1910) under the editorship of 'Alí Sharíf-záda of Tabríz The first number was dated the 21st of Sha'bán, A H 1328 (= Aug 28, 1910)

See Rabino, No 159 I possess No 1, which comprises 8 pp of 8¾" × 5¾" The subscription price is not mentioned

(267)

Faláhat-i-Muzaffarí (*Muzaffarí Agriculture*) فلاحت مظفری

A monthly scientific paper printed in Tihran in A H 1318 (= A.D 1900–1) under the management of the College of Agriculture, and treating of agricultural matters

See Rabino, No 160, according to whom the second number appeared on the 1st Jumáda ii A H. 1318 (= Sept 26, 1900). I possess No 2 of the First and

[illegible] of the Second Year, the latter [illegible] A.H. [illegible] founded in A.H. 1318, as stated above, this must be an error [illegible] for A.H. 1320 (=May–June, 1902). It comprises 16 pp. of [illegible] subscription, 6 *qráns* in Ṭihrán, 8 *qráns* elsewhere in Persia, and [illegible]

(268)

Fawá'id-i-'Ámma (*Public Benefits*) [illegible]

A weekly paper printed in Tihrán in A H 1325 (=A.D. [illegible]). Its editor and chief contributor was the notorious Yúsuf Khán of Herát, who was also the editor of the *Kilíd-i-Siyásí* ("Political Key"), and who was responsible for the recent disturbances in Mashhad (April, 1912) and the bombardment of the Holy Shrine of the Imám Rizá (Rabí' ii, A H 1330 = March–April, 1912). The editor of this paper had formerly resided in Mashhad, and was suspected of being connected with the Russian Consulate there, and of being an instrument in their hands. Soon after the granting of the Constitution he came to Tihrán and founded this paper and the *Kilíd-i-Siyásí*. He wrote chiefly against the English. [He was captured and shot by the Persians on May 23, 1912.]

See Rabino, No 161. Not in my possession.

(269)

Qájáriyya. [illegible]

A weekly paper printed in Tihrán in A H 1325 (= A.D. 1907).

Not in Rabino, and not seen.

(270)

Qálat Sharárá (*The Voice of Truth*) [illegible]

A religious paper published in Chaldaean (Syriac) at Urmiya. It was founded and edited by a priest named Dáwúd (who has now embraced Islám, taken the name of 'Abdu'l-Ahad, and settled in Constantinople) in 1896. The paper is now edited by French Catholic missionaries.

Not in Rabino, and not seen.

(271)

Qásimu'l-Akhbár (*The Distributor of News*) [illegible]

A weekly paper printed in Tihrán in A.H 1325 (=A.D. [illegible]) under the editorship of Mírzá Abu'l-Qásim Khán of [illegible]

See Rabino, No. 162, who correctly describes it as lithographed, [illegible]

... of a single lithographed sheet, with rude cartoons on one or both ... $12\frac{1}{2}'' \times 7\frac{1}{2}''$. The writing is a large but clumsy *ta'líq*. Yearly subscription ... *qráns* in Ṭihrán, 12 *qráns* elsewhere in Persia.

(272)

Qánún (*The Law*). قانون

A paper printed in London in A H 1307 (= A D 1889–90), edited and written by Mírzá Malkom Khán *Náẓimu'd-Dawla*. The entry of this paper into Persia was forbidden, so that numbers of it were highly prized by such as possessed them. For the same reason, after the proclamation of the Constitution, in order to increase the number of copies it was reprinted by Háshim Áqá Rabí'-záda

See Rabino, No 163, who states that the reprint was made in A H 1326, and that he had seen 24 numbers of it I possess a complete set of the original London edition, of which 41 numbers appeared, the first on Feb 20, 1890 For further details, see my *History of the Persian Revolution*, pp 35–42 Each number comprised 4 pp of $11\frac{1}{2}'' \times 8\frac{1}{2}''$

(273)

Qazwín. قزوین

A paper printed in Qazwín twice a week in A H 1328 (= A D. 1910) under the editorship of Mírzá Abu'l-Qásim In politics it was Democrat

See Rabino, No 164 I possess No 21 of the First Year, dated the 29th of Jumádá ii, A.H 1328 (= July 8, 1910) and No 16 of the Second Year, dated the end of Jumádá i, A H 1329 (= May 29, 1911) One contains 8 and the other 4 pages of $12\frac{1}{2}'' \times 7''$ Yearly subscription, 10 *qráns* in Qazwín, 12 *qráns* elsewhere in Persia.

(274)

Qand-i-Pársí (*Persian Sugar*) قند پارسی

A literary magazine, published at 'Alí-garh in India.

Not in Rabino, and not seen

(275)

Káshán. کاشان

A paper published in Káshán in A H 1329 (= A.D. 1911).

Not in Rabino, and not seen

(276)

Káshifu'l-Ḥaqá'iq (*The Revealer of Truths*) کاشف الحقایق

A paper printed in Ṭihrán twice a week in A.H. 1325 (= A.D. 1907–8) under the editorship of Mírzá Ḥabíbu'lláh Khán

known as "Gospodin," director of the college [illegible] *Waṭan.*

See Rabino, No. 165, who states correctly that the paper was [illegible] and that only one number appeared on the sixth of Dhu'l-Qa'da, A.H. 1326 [illegible] 1908) This number I possess It comprises 4 pp of 11¼" × 8¾". Yearly [illegible] tion, 12 *qráns* in Rasht, 18 *qráns* elsewhere in Persia, 10 francs in Europe, [illegible] in the Caucasus, and 10 rupees in India

(277)

Kakhwá (*The Star*) [illegible]

A political paper in the Chaldaean (Syriac) language printed in Urmiya in A H 1326 (= A D 1908) under the editorship of Yúkhanná Múshá

Not in Rabino, and not seen I have a manuscript note in Persian in my copy of Rabino (I think by the author of this treatise, Mírza Muḥammad 'Alí Khán "Tarbiyat"), to the effect that besides this paper, which was political and national, the Chaldaean or Syrian Christians of Urmiya had two other newspapers in their language, both religious, the one Protestant and the other Catholic

(278)

Kirmán. کرمان

Rabino (No 166) mentions a paper of this name (omitted by Mírzá Muhammad 'Alí Khán) printed at Kirmán under the editorship of Mírzá Ghulám Husayn of Kirmán, and adds that it was Democrat in politics and was started on the 17th of Rabí' I, A H 1329 (= March 18, 1911) I do not possess a copy

(279)

Kirmánsháh کرمانشاه

A weekly newspaper printed at Kirmánsháh in A.H. 1327 (= A.D 1909) under the editorship of *Faṣíḥu'l-Mutakallimín,* Democrat in politics.

See Rabino, No 167, who says that it first appeared on the 3rd of Dhu'l-[illegible] A.H. 1327 (= Dec 16, 1909), and was published for three months at very irregular intervals, after which it was suspended I possess No 11, which [illegible] × 8¾", and is dated the 7th of Dhu'l-Hijja, A.H 1327 (= Dec. 20, [illegible]) [illegible] agrees with the date of inception given above. Yearly subscription, [illegible] in Kirmánsháh, 15 *qráns* elsewhere in Persia, 8 francs abroad

(280)

Kashgul (*The Alms-gourd*). کشکول

A weekly illustrated comic paper lithographed in Tihrán in A.H. 1325 (= A.D 1907–8) under the editorship of Majdu'l-Islám, also editor of the *Nidá-yi-Watan* and *Muhákamát*

See Rabino, No 168, who gives the date of No 2 (really No 4) as the 22nd of Safar, A.H. 1325 (= April 6, 1907) I possess Nos 4–39 of the First Year, and Nos 1–34 of the Second, extending from April 1907 to May 1908 Each number comprises 4 pp of 12½" × 6½", of which as many as three are often occupied by rude caricatures The writing is *ta'líq* Yearly subscription, 8 *qráns* in Tihrán, 10 *qráns* elsewhere in Persia, 5 francs in Europe, 3 roubles in the Caucasus and Russia, 4 rupees in India

(281)

Kashgúl (*The Alms-gourd*) کشکول

A weekly comic paper lithographed in Isfahán in A H 1327 (= A D 1909) under the editorship of Majdu'l-Islám, editor of the above-mentioned Tihrán *Kashgul*

See Rabino, No 168, according to whom 23 numbers were issued in Iṣfahán between the 12th of Rabí' 1, A H 1327 (= April 3, 1909) and the 9th of Shawwál (= Oct. 24) of the same year I do not possess a copy

(282)

Kilíd-i-Siyásí (*The Political Key*) کلید سیاسی

A weekly paper printed in Tihrán in A H 1325 (= A.D 1907) under the editorship of Yúsuf Khán of Herat, who used to sign himself "Muḥammad Yúsuf Khán, Sardár-i-Muhájir-i-Hirawí" As has been already mentioned in connection with the newspaper *Fawá'id-i-'Amma* (No 268 *supra*), this person recently raised the standard of Autocracy at Mashhad in the name of Muhammad 'Alí Sháh, gathered round him a number of Reactionaries, filled Khurásán with disturbance for a long while, gave great trouble to the Government, and finally took sanctuary in the Shrine of the Imám Riza until at length he afforded a pretext for the Russian aggressions against that Holy Place (in April, 1912)

See Rabino, No. 169 I possess No 3, dated the 7th of Rabí 1, A.H. 1325 (= April 20, 1907). It comprises 32 pp (numbered 1,–48) of 7' × 3¾'. Yearly subscription, 10 *qráns* in Tihrán, 12 *qráns* elsewhere in Persia, 3 roubles in Russia, 4 rupees in India.

(283)

Kamál (*Perfection*) كمال

A fortnightly paper lithographed in Tabríz in A.H. 1319 (= A D 1901–2) under the editorship of Mírzá Husayn *Tabíb-záda*, director of the Kamál College and editor of the newspaper *Tabríz* See No 100 *supra*

See Rabino, No 170 I do not possess a copy

(284)

Kamál (*Perfection*) كمال

A fortnightly paper printed in Cairo in A H 1323 (= A.D. 1905–6) under the editorship of Mírzá Husayn *Tabíb-záda*, formerly editor of the above-mentioned Tabríz *Kamál*

Not in Rabino, and not seen

(285)

Kingásh (*The Council*) كنكاش

A paper printed in Rasht twice a week in A H 1328 (= A.D. 1910) under the editorship of Muhammad 'Alí Hasan-záda,

See Rabino, No 171, who states that in politics the paper was Moderate, and that it first appeared on the 13th of Dhu'l Qa'da, A H 1328 (= Nov 16, 1910)

(286)

Kawkib-i-durrí-yi-Násirí كوكب درّى ناصرى
(*The Shining Násirí Star*)

A paper lithographed in Tihrán in A H 1325 (= A.D 1907) under the editorship of Názimu'l-Islám of Kirmán, editor of the paper *Naw-rúz* ("New Year's Day," *q v*), and author of the *Táríkh-i-Bidárí-yi-Íránìyán* ("History of the Persian Awakening"). Forty numbers of this paper were published yearly.

See Rabino, No 172. I possess No 12 of the Third Year, dated the [illegible] of Rabí' ii, A.H. 1325 (= June 4, 1907) It comprises 8 pp. of 12⅝" x [illegible] [illegible] lithographed in a fine large *naskh* Yearly subscription, 90 *qráns* in Tihrán, [illegible] elsewhere in Persia, 5 roubles in Russia, 12 francs elsewhere.

(287)

Kawkib-i-Násirí (*The Násirí Star*) كوكب ناصرى

A paper lithographed in Bombay in A.H 1309 (= A D 1891 -2), founded and edited by Mírzá Mustafá *Shaykhu'l-Islám* of Bahbahán

Not in Rabino I possess No 3 of the First Year, dated Jan 15, 1892, and Nos 4, 5, 6 and 7 of the same year, each dated a week later than the preceding one Each number comprises 8 pp of 17½″ × 11½″, lithographed in *ta'líq* Yearly subscription, 15 *qráns* in Bombay, 20 *qráns* in India, the Persian Gulf ports and 'Arabistán, and 25 *qráns* elsewhere in Persia and in Turkey and Europe Proprietors, Mírzá Mustafá and Dr Silvester (?), editor, Mírzá Mustafá *Shaykhu'l Islám* of Bahbahán

Guftugú-yi-Safá-khána-i-Isfahán گفتگوى صفاخانهٔ اصفهان
(*Discussions of the House of Purity of Isfahán*)

Another name for the paper entitled *al-Islam* See No 45 *supra*.

See Rabino, No 20

(288)

Gulistán (*The Rose Garden*) گلستان

A weekly paper printed in Rasht in A H 1325 (= A D 1907) under the editorship of Áqá Muhammad Husayn *Ra'ísu't-Tujjár* (Chief of the Merchants)

See Rabino, No 173, according to whom only four numbers were published, the first on the 14th of Sha'bán, A H 1325 (= Sept 22, 1907), and the last on the 1st of Dhu'l-Hijja (= Jan 5, 1908) I possess Nos 1-4, which agree with the above statement Each number comprises 4 pp of 11″ × 6¾″ Yearly subscription, "for the present, zeal and fairness at home, justice and equality abroad" No price is mentioned.

(289)

Gulistán-i-Sa'ádat (*The Rose-Garden of Happiness*) گلستان سعادت

A newspaper lithographed twice a week in Tihrán in A.H. 1325 (= A.D. 1907) under the editorship of Mírzá Nasru'lláh Khán

See Rabino, No 174, according to whom No. 1 appeared in Rabí' II, A.H 1325 (= May–June, 1907), No. 4 on the first of Dhu'l Hijja of the same year (= Jan 5, 1908), while Nos. 6 and 7 were undated. I possess Nos. 1 and 3. Each comprises [illegible] pp. of [illegible] × [illegible], lithographed in *ta'líq* Yearly subscription, 20 *qráns* in Tihrán, [illegible] in Russia, 10 rupees in India, and 15 francs in Europe.

(290)

Ganj-i-Sháyagán (*The Royal Treasure*) گنج شایگان

A paper printed in Tihrán in A H 1325 (= A D. 1907).

Not in Rabino, and not seen

Ganjína-i-Ansár (*The Treasure of the Helpers*) گنجینهٔ انصار

A newspaper published at Isfahán See above, No 73, under *Anşár* (انصار)

(291)

Ganjína-i-Funún (*The Treasury of Arts*) گنجینهٔ فنون

A fortnightly scientific magazine lithographed at Tabríz in A H 1320 (= A D 1902–3) under the management of the "Tarbiyat" Library This periodical continued publication for just a year, and published 24 numbers, each of which comprised four parts The first, entitled *Ganjína-i-Funun*, was a scientific and technical miscellany, the second, entitled *Hunar-ámúz* ("The Instructor in Arts") was a book compiled by the writer (Mírzá Muhammad 'Alí Khán "Tarbiyat"), the third, entitled *Tamaddunát-i-qadíma* ("Ancient Civilizations"), was translated from the French of Gustave le Bon by Sayyid Hasan Taqí-záda; while the fourth, entitled *Safína-i-ghawwása* ("The Diving Ship," or "The Submarine") was translated from the French of Jules Verne, the novelist, by Mírzá Yúsuf Khán *I'tişámu'l-Mulk*.

See Rabino, No 175, according to whom the magazine in question began on the 1st of Dhu'l Hijja, A H 1320 (= March 1, 1903), and ended on the same date of A.H 1321 (= Feb 18, 1904) I do not possess this publication

(292)

Gílán. گیلان

A paper printed in Rasht in A H 1326 (= A.D 1908–9) under the editorship of Mírzá Hasan Khán Asad-záda It was connected with and managed by the *Anjuman* (Provincial Council) of Gílán

See Rabino, No 176, according to whom only 12 numbers were issued, the [illegible]

(293)

Gílán. گیلان

A paper printed in Rasht in A.H. 1328 (= A.D. 1910) and published every alternate day. It was edited by "M.S.", and in politics represented the Moderates.

See Rabino, No. 177, who gives the 26th of Sha'bán A.H. 1328 (= Sept. 2, 1910), as the date of inauguration.

(294)

Lisánu'l-Ghayb (*The Tongue of the Unseen*) لسان الغیب

A newspaper "jelly-graphed" and clandestinely circulated in Tihrán about A.H. 1319 (= A.D. 1901–2) by a secret committee which used formerly to write against the *Amínu's-Sultán*, and concerning which something has been already said in the Introduction (p. 21).

Not in Rabino, and not seen.

(295)

Lodiana Akhbár (*Lodiana News*) لودیانه اخبار

A weekly newspaper published in Calcutta on Saturdays, which, according to Zenker's *Bibliotheca Orientalis* (No. 1834), was in circulation in A.H. 1262 (= A.D. 1846).

Not in Rabino, and not seen.

(296)

La Patrie

A newspaper published at Tihrán in French in A.D. 1876 (= A.H. 1293). See above in the Introduction, pp. 16–17.

See Rabino, No. 127, who states that it began (and ended) on Feb. 5, 1876.

(297)

Mujáhid (*The National Volunteer*) مجاهد

A paper printed in Tabríz in A.H. 1325 (= A.D. 1907–8) and appearing every other day, edited by Sayyid Muhammad Shabistari, known as Abu'z-Ziyá, editor of the papers *al-Hadíd* and *Íran-i-Naw*. In consequence of the publication in its last number, which coincided with the Abortive *Coup d'État* (of December, 1907), or Event of the Artillery Barracks (*Waq'a-i-Túp-khána*), of a letter from Baghdád containing an attack on Sayyid Kázim of Yazd, a *mujtahid* residing at Najaf, it incurred

the hatred and vengeance of certain fanatics, and its editor was subjected to a severe bastinado, and was expelled from the city. This paper was published on behalf of the Social Democrats, and served as their organ

See Rabino, No 178, who gives the 9th of Sha'bán, A H 1325 (= Sept. 17, 1907), as the date of inception, and adds that No 22 was dated the 9th of Dhu'l-Qa'da (= Dec 14) of the same year I possess Nos 1, 20, 21 and 22, which comprise 4 pp of 10¼" × 6¼" Yearly subscription, 15 *qráns* in Tabriz, 20 *qráns* elsewhere in Persia, and 25 *qráns* abroad

(298)

Mujáhid (*The National Volunteer*) مجاهد

A paper printed in Rasht in A H 1325 (= A D 1907–8)

See Rabino, No 179, who says that only five numbers were published, the first on the 9th of Shawwál, A H 1325 (= Nov 15, 1907), and the last on the 2nd of Muharram, A H 1326 (= Feb 5, 1908) I possess Nos 1 and 4, which comprise 4 pp of 12" × 6¾" Yearly subscription, 12 *qráns* in Gílan, 15 *qráns* elsewhere in Persia, 6 roubles in Russia

(299)

Majlis (*The Assembly*) مجلس

A paper printed in Tihran, which first appeared on the 8th of Shawwál, A H 1324 (= Nov 25, 1906), edited by Sayyid Muhammad Sádiq (son of the well-known Sayyid Muhammad-i-Tabátabá'í), and written by the *Adíbu'l-Mamálik*, editor of the *Adab* (*q v*) This was the first paper in Persia which reported the debates of the National Assembly after it was opened, on which account it achieved a great celebrity, so that in the provinces it was generally supposed that it was connected with the Assembly After the restoration of the Constitution (in July, 1909) it again began to appear under the supervision of Shaykh Yahyá of Káshán, a former contributor to the daily (Tihrán) *Hablu'l-Matín*, and continued publication until these latter times (end of 1911 or beginning of 1912) During the Second Constitutional Period the politics of this paper were Moderate[1].

[1] In No 2 of this newspaper is a very fine *qasída* in praise of the National Assembly by the *Adíbu'l-Mamálik*, which is one of the best poems produced during the Constitutional Period It begins

… مجلس ملی که بینم عنقریب ' از تو آید دید ملّترا در این دوران طبیب

"*Hail, O National Assembly! For I see that at this epoch there will shortly be born from thee a healer for the Nation's ills*"

See Rabino, No. 180 I possess a fairly complete collection of this paper. It underwent several enlargements Thus No. 1 comprised 4 pp of 11⅞" × 7"; No. 8 increased in size to 14½" × 8½", while No 37 of the Third Year still further increased to 21" × 14" The yearly subscription also increased from 45 *qráns* in Tihrán, 55 *qráns* in the provinces, and 16 francs abroad, to 60 *qráns* in Tihrán, 75 *qráns* in the provinces, 40 francs abroad, and 16 roubles in Russia and the Caucasus

(300)

مجلّهٔ انجمن اتّحادیّهٔ سعادت

Majalla-i-Anjuman-i-Ittiḥádiyya-i-Sa'ádat
(*Magazine of the Society of the Union of Happiness*)

See under *Ittiḥádiyya-i-Sa'ádat*, No 27 *supra*

Not in Rabino

(301)

Majalla-i-Istibdád (*Magazine of Autocracy*) مجلّهٔ استبداد 1

A monthly magazine printed in Tihrán in A H 1325 (= A D 1907–8) and edited by [Shaykh Mahdí of Qum, entitled] *Shaykhu'l-Mamálik*

See Rabino, No 181, who states that 31 numbers appeared in all, the first on the 4th of Jumáda ii, A H 1325 (= July 16, 1907) I was acquainted with the editor when I was in Kirmán in the summer of 1888 and in memory of that old friendship he sent me this magazine month by month, so that I possess an almost complete set

(302)

Majalla-i-Ṭabábat (*Medical Magazine*) مجلّهٔ طبابت

A scientific magazine lithographed in Tihrán in A H 1326 (= A.D 1908–9)

Not in Rabino, and not seen

(303)

مجلّهٔ هئیت علمیّهٔ دانشوران

Majalla-i-Hay'at-i-'Ilmiyya-i-Dánishwarán
(*Magazine of the Scientific Society of Savants*)

According to Rabino (No 182), on whose authority this publication is here included, it appeared monthly in A H. 1327 (= A.D. 1909).

(304)

Majalla-i-Nazmiyya (*The Police Magazine*).

A paper published in Tihrán in A.H. 1329 (= A.D. 1911) which discussed matters concerning the Police.

Not in Rabino, and not seen

(305)

Majmú'a-i-Akhláq (*Ethical Miscellany*) مجموعهٔ اخلاق

A magazine printed every ten days in Tihrán in A.H. 1323 (= A.D 1905–6) under the editorship of Mírzá 'Alí Akbar Khán (Muṣawwir 'Alí), and under the patronage of the ***Anjuman-i-Ukhuwwat*** ("Society of Brotherhood") of Zahíru'd-Dawla, that is to say the followers of the Mystical Path of Safí 'Alí Sháh. This paper discussed ethical matters and was for the most part written by Mírzá Ibráhím Khán, Deputy for Isfahán in the Second National Assembly

See Rabino, No 183 I possess Nos 2–10, and 12–15, which are not dated. Each contains 8 pp of 7¼" × 4¾", and is priced at 4 sháhís No yearly subscription is mentioned The magazine contains a great deal of poetry, and professedly avoids political and religious matters

(306)

مجموعهٔ ما ورای بحر خزر

Majmú'a-i-Má-wará-yi Bahr-i-Khazar (*The Trans-Caspian Review*)

A weekly newspaper printed at 'Ishqábád (Askabad) in A.H. 1322 (= A D 1904–5) under the editorship of the Russian Fedoroff This paper was the instrument of Russian policy and the vehicle of Russian political aims in Persia. It was founded during the Russo-Japanese War to proclaim the Russian advances and victories, and was distributed gratuitously throughout Persia by the Russian Consulates

See Rabino, No. 184, according to whom No 4 of the Fourth Year was dated [illegible] Dhu'l-Qa'da, A.H. 1327 (= Nov 26, 1909) I possess Nos. 2, 4 and [illegible] Year. Each contains 4–8 pp. of 13" × 8¾". Yearly subscription, 3 [illegible] [illegible] roubles abroad.

(307)

Muhákamát (*Judgements*). محاکمات

A paper printed in Tihrán in A.H. 1325 (= A.D. 1907–8), at first once and afterwards thrice a week, under the editorship of Majdu'l-Islám of Kirmán, to give publicity to the proceedings of the Law Courts.

See Rabino, No. 185, who describes it as the organ of the Ministry of Justice, and gives the 17th (*sic*, but see below) of Jumáda I, A.H. 1325 (= June 28, 1907), as the date of its first appearance. I possess Nos 2, 3, 22, 25, 26, 28, 29, 43, 48, and 49, the first dated the 13th of Jumáda I, A.H. 1325 (= June 24, 1907) and the last the 14th of Rabí' I, A.H. 1326 (= April 16, 1908). Each number contains 4 pp of 11½″ × 6¾″. Yearly subscription, 15 *qráns* in Tihrán, 18 *qráns* elsewhere in Persia, 2 mejidiyyés in Turkey and Egypt, 4 roubles in Russia and the Caucasus, and 18 francs in Europe.

(308)

Muhákamát (*Judgements*) محاکمات

A paper published in Tabríz in A.H. 1326 (= A.D. 1908) under the editorship of Mírzá Mahmúd Ghaní-záda of Salmás, editor of the *Faryád* and *Bú Qalamún* (*q.v.*)

Not in Rabino, and not seen.

(309)

Muhákamát-i-Yazd (*Judgements of Yazd*) محاکمات یزد

A weekly paper lithographed in Yazd in A.H. 1327 (= A.D. 1909) under the editorship of Muhammad Ṣádiq.

See Rabino, No. 186, who states that after the arrival at Yazd of the Bakhtiyárí Sardár-i-Jang, the newspaper *Ma'rifat* (see below No. 318) was published under the title of *Muhákamát*, but not more than two or three numbers were printed and circulated. I possess a copy of No. 2 of the First Year, which is dated the 17th of Dhu'l-Qa'da, A.H. 1327 (= Nov. 30, 1909). It comprises 4 pp. lithographed in large, clear *ta'líq*, of 11″ × 6¾″. Yearly subscription, 16 *qráns* in Yazd, 20 *qráns* elsewhere in Persia, 25 *qráns* abroad.

(310)

Mudarris-i-Fársí (*The Persian Teacher*). مدرس فارسی

A monthly magazine published in Bombay, partly lithographed and partly printed in small (book) form, in A.D. 1883 (A.H. 1300–1). Its contents were partly Persian and partly English, and, as its name implies, were chiefly educational and connected with the study of the Persian language. It treated of Persian grammar and literature, and contained Persian stories,

anecdotes, proverbs, specimens of calligraphy, biographical notices of old poets and Kings of Persia, accompanied in many cases by English translations Its first number was dated Thursday, January 1, 1883, and the following verse of poetry was printed on the top of each copy

ز لاف حمد و نعت اولی است سر خاك ادب خفتن
سجودی می توان کردن درودی می توان گفتن

A complete collection of three years (36 numbers) of this periodical is preserved in the Library of the British Museum under the class mark 757 cc 20 The last (36th) number is dated December, 1885

This periodical was edited by Khán Bahádur G M Munshí and his sons Each number comprised 16 pp, and the yearly subscription was 4 rupees, if paid in advance, and 5 rupees if paid at the end of the year At the beginning of each number is written in English "to save much time, trouble and money" In the number for August, 1885, appears an advertisement of the *Farhang*, published at Isfahan, and an encomium on it, and in subsequent numbers news is occasionally quoted from that paper

In the later numbers of the *Mudarris i-Fársí* there appear advertisements of a paper entitled *Mufarrihu'l-Qulúb*, which is highly praised, and of which it writes as follows "This is a weekly Persian newspaper published at Karáchí in Sind, and is the best Persian newspaper in India It has appeared regularly for thirty years, and it is now the thirtieth year of its publication Its Persian style is very good, and entirely accords with the spoken and written idiom of Persia It contains the latest news from every country, and is in every respect a first-class newspaper. It is chiefly maintained and published by subventions from the rulers, princes, nobility and gentry of Persia, Turkey, Afghánistán, India, Europe, etc Its proprietors and publishers possess testimonials, guarantees and letters from most of the above-mentioned rulers, nobles and gentry which afford ample evidence as to the excellence of its style and taste It is especially suitable for the use of students of Persian in India. It is edited and published by two learned, accomplished and well-known persons,

Mírzá Muhammad Ja'far (the editor) and Mírzá Muhammad Sádiq of Mashhad, Persian Consul at Karáchí Yearly subscription for Indian nobles, 12 rupees, if paid in advance, and 24 rupees if post-paid for people of the middle class, 10 and 20 rupees, respectively and for students, 5 and 10 rupees respectively"

Not in Rabino, and not seen

(311)

Madaniyyat (*Civilization*) مدنیّت

A fortnightly newspaper lithographed in Tabríz in A H 1301 (= A.D 1883-4) under the editorship of the Secretary to the Armenian Agency, known as Sadrá No 2 was dated Wednesday the 12th of Jumáda ii, A H 1301 (= April 9, 1884)

Not in Rabino, and not seen

(312)

Madí (? *Media*) مدی

A weekly paper printed in Tihrán in A H 1325 (= A D 1907-8), edited and written by Shaykh 'Abdu'l-'Alí, known as *Múbad*, on account of his sentiments with regard to Ancient Persia and the pure Persian language After the *Coup d Etat* of June 23, 1908, and the bombardment of the *Majlis* he became acquainted with the celebrated M Panoff, the correspondent of certain Liberal Russian papers in Persia, who also took part in the Gílán Rebellion in A H 1327 (= A D 1909), at the time when the Russian Legation had expelled him from Tihrán He accompanied him to St Petersburg under the name of "Mírzá Shaykh 'Alí the *Mujtahid*," and endeavoured to influence public opinion in Russia in a manner favourable to Persia by means of public speeches.

Not in Rabino, and not seen

(313)

Mir'át-i-Janúb (*The Mirror of the South*) مرآت جنوب

A weekly newspaper lithographed at Kirmán in A.H 1329 (= A.D. 1911) under the editorship of Sayyid Jalálu'd-Dín Husayní *Mu'ayyidu'l-Ashráf*.

See Rabino, No 187 I possess a copy of No. 1, which is dated the [illegible] Muharram, A.H 1329 (= Jan 4, 1911). It is lithographed in a large, clear [illegible] and comprises 4 pp of 11½″ × 6½″ Yearly subscription, 20 qráns in Kirmán. This number contains, on p 1, a portrait of Mírzá Husayn Khán *Sardár-i-Nusrat*

(314)

Mirátu's-Safar wa Mishkátu'l-Hadar مرآة السفر و مشكوة الحضر

(*The Mirror of Travel and Lamp of Sojourn*)

A newspaper published in Rabí' 1, A H 1288 (= May–June, 1871) on the march and at the halting-places during Násiru'd-Dín Sháh's summer journey to Mázandarán It gave an account of the events of the journey from start to finish, and was printed and edited by Muhammad Hasan Khán *I'timádu's-Saltana* In all thirteen numbers were published

This information is supplied in a letter from H F the *I'timadu's Saltana.* The paper is not mentioned by Rabino, and is not otherwise known

(315)

Mirríkh (*Mars*) مريخ

A newspaper lithographed in Tihrán in A H 1296 (= A D 1879) under the editorship of Mírzá Hasan Khán *Saní'u'd-Dawla* The first number was dated Muharram 5 of that year (= Dec 30, 1878) and the last number the 16th of Jumáda II, A H 1297 (= May 26, 1880) In all eighteen numbers were published. This paper took the place of the *Ruznáma-i-Nizámí* ("Military Journal") which preceded it, and would seem to have been founded by Mírzá Husayn Khán *Sipahsálár*[1] See No 191 *supra.*

Most of the above particulars are derived from information supplied by *Zaká'u'l-Mulk* The paper is not mentioned by Rabino, nor have I seen it

(316)

Musáwát (*Equality*). مساوات

A weekly paper printed in Tihrán in A H 1325 (= A D 1907–8) under the editorship of Sayyid Muhammad Rizá of Shíráz, and

[1] The *I'timádu's Saltana* in one of his letters attributes the foundation and circulation of this newspaper to Prince Kámrán Mírzá, entitled *Ná'ibu's-Saltana*, the son of Násiru'd Dín Sháh, who published it with the assistance of the present *Sardár-i-Kull* It came to an end, however, after only twelve or thirteen numbers had appeared It is, however, highly probable, nay, almost certain, that the details mentioned in the text are more correct and accurate, and that the other particulars refer to some other paper of which we have no further information.

Sayyid 'Abdu'r-Rahím of Khalkhál This paper, by reason of its extreme boldness and steadfastness in Constitutional Principles, was one of the foremost champions in the Press of the First Constitution It achieved great notoriety in consequence of its criticism of the Press Law, on the promulgation of which it published a number full of idle stories, fables and phantasies, saying that henceforth, in consequence of the abovementioned Law, everything except such matters would be prohibited, and also in consequence of a celebrated article entitled "How is the Sháh?" directed against Muhammad 'Alí Sháh These actions led to the suppression of the paper and legal proceedings against the editor The editor of this paper, Sayyid Muhammad Rizá, was one of the eight persons whose surrender Muhammad 'Alí Sháh demanded of the First National Assembly, but after the bombardment of the *Majlis* (June 23, 1908) he escaped and could not be captured Finally he succeeded in reaching the Caucasus, whence he made his way to Tabríz, where, during the Revolution and siege of that city, he again published the *Musáwat* Finally he was elected by Tabríz as one of the Members of the Second National Assembly In politics the paper was thorough-going Constitutionalist and Liberal

See Rabino, No 188 who says that in all 25 numbers of the Tihran edition appeared, the first on the 5th of Ramazán, A H 1325 (= Oct 12 1907), and the last at the end of Rabí' i, A H 1326 (= May 2 1908) I possess a fairly complete collection.

(317)

Musáwát (*Equality*) مساوات

A paper lithographed in Tabríz early in A H 1327 (= A.D 1909) under the editorship of Sayyid Muhammad Rizá of Shíráz.

See Rabino, No 188, according to whom the first issue of the Tabríz *Musáwát* appeared on Muharram 1, A H 1327 (= Jan 23, 1909), and was numbered "26" in continuation of the former Tihrán *Musáwát* I possess a fairly complete set of the Tihrán issues (Nos 1–24, the last dated the 23rd of Rabí' ii, A.H 1326 = May 25, 1908), and No. 27 (the second) of the Tabríz issue which is *printed*, not lithographed, and is dated the 7th of Muharram, A H 1327 = Jan. 29, 1909. Each number contains [illegible] of 13" x 6½". Yearly subscription of Tihrán issue, 11 *qráns* in Tihrán, 17 *qráns* elsewhere in Persia, 15 francs abroad, of Tabríz issue, 12 *qráns* in Tabríz, 20 *qráns* elsewhere in Persia, and 5 roubles abroad.

(318)

Mashwarat (*Council*) مشورت

A paper published in Tihrán in A H 1325 (= A D 1907–8).

Not in Rabino, and not seen

(319)

مشروطهٔ بیقانون

Mashrúta-i-Bí-qánún (*The Lawless Constitution*)

A paper published in Tihrán in A H 1325 (= A D 1907–8).

Not in Rabino, and not seen

(320)

Misbáh (*The Lamp*) مصباح

A paper lithographed in Tabríz in A H 1324 (= A.D 1906–7) under the editorship of Mírzá Abu'l Qásim of Tabríz

Not in Rabino, and not seen

(321)

Musawwar (*The Illustrated*) مصور

Inserted on the authority of Rabino, No 189, who gives no particulars Perhaps what he had in view was the *Illustrated History of the War in the Far East,* which was published in parts in Tihran

(322)

Muzaffarí مظفری

A fortnightly, and subsequently weekly, paper, first lithographed and subsequently printed in Bushire in A H 1319 (= A.D 1901–2), under the editorship of 'Alí Áqa of Shíráz

See Rabino, No 190, who states that the paper was Democrat in politics, and that No 2 was dated the 15th of Shawwál, A H 1319 (= Jan 25, 1902). I possess a large collection of this paper from the First to the Tenth Year (A H 1319–1329 = Jan 1902–April, 1911) Of these, Nos 2–66 (Jan 1902–Sept. 1904) are lithographed, and the remainder printed Each number comprises 16 pp. of 9" × 6". Yearly subscription, 22 *qráns* in Bushire, 28 *qráns* elsewhere in Persia, 8 rupees in India, 14 francs in Europe, Turkey and Egypt, and 5 roubles in Russia and Turkistán.

(323)

Muẓaffarí. مظفری

A paper printed in Mecca in A H 1326 (= A D 1908–9) under the editorship of 'Alí Áqá of Shíráz, editor of the homonymous Bushire paper mentioned immediately above Only one number was published during the season of the Pilgrimage

See Rabino, No 190, according to whom this paper (which I have not seen) first appeared in Dhu'l Hijja, A H 1326 (= Dec 1908–Jan 1909)

(324)

Maẓhar (*The Manifestation*) مظهر

Of this weekly paper, not mentioned by either Rabino or the author of this treatise, I possess one copy No 13, dated the 27th of Dhu'l-Qa'da, A H 1327 (= Dec 10, 1909) It is printed at Tiflis, partly in Turkish, partly in Persian, and bears a superscription in Russian It comprises 4 pp of 16½" × 10", and contains on page 1 a portrait of Sardár-i-Humáyún, the Persian Consul-General at Tiflis Yearly subscription, 6 roubles It describes itself as —

ادبی سیاسی اقتصادی و وطنه خدمت ایدر هفتهلك ترك غزتهسی

—"a weekly literary, political, economic and patriotic Turkish newspaper"

(325)

Ma'árif (*Instruction*) معارف

A paper lithographed in Tihrán in A H 1317 (= A D 1899–1900) under the supervision of the Society of Instruction (*Anjuman-i-Ma'árif*).

Not in Rabino, unless this be merely the early beginning of the next following

(326)

Ma'árif (*Instruction*) معارف

A weekly paper printed in Tihrán in A.H 1325 (= A D. 1907–8) under the editorship of Shaykh Muhammad 'Alí Bahjat of Dizfúl, editor of the magazine entitled *Da'watu'l-Haqq*

See Rabino, No. 191, who gives the date of No. 16 as the 12th of Ṣafar, A.H. 1325 (= March 27, 1907) I possess Nos. 13, 25, 31, and the supplement to 10. As the

paper appeared weekly, it appears by reckoning backwards that it began to be published in A H 1324 (= A D. 1906–7), *not* 1325, a fact also indicated on each issue, where "1324" stands immediately beneath the title. Each number comprises 4 pp. of 11½" × 6¾" Yearly subscription, 17 *qráns* in Ṭihrán, 20 *qráns* in the provinces, and 12 francs abroad In No 36 the title is printed in *naskh* instead as heretofore in *ta'líq*

(327)

Ma'árif (*Instruction*) معارف

A paper printed twice a week in Tihrán in Sha'bán, A.H 1326 (= Sept, 1908) under the management of the Society of Learning (*Anjuman-i-Ma'árif*)

See Rabino, No 192, and No 326 *supra*, of which I suspect it to be a continuation Not seen by the Translator

(328)

Ma'rifat (*Knowledge*) معرفت

A weekly paper lithographed at Tabríz in A H 1319 (= A.D 1901–2) under the editorship of Mírzá 'Abdu'lláh Khán, son of Mírzá Taqí, President of the Courts of Justice (*Sadr-i-'Adliyya*), one of the Jahán-sháhí Sayyids of Tabríz, and Director of the *Ma'rifat* College

Not in Rabino, and not seen

(329)

Ma'rifat (*Knowledge*) معرفت

A weekly paper "jelly-graphed," and subsequently lithographed, in Yazd, in A H 1326 (= A D 1908–9) under the editorship of Shaykh Abu'l-Qásim *Iftikháru'l-'Ulamá*

[1] See Rabino, No 193 I possess Nos 6 and 8 The former, dated the 15th of Muharram, A H 1326 (= Feb 18, 1908), is "jelly-graphed", the latter, dated the 18th of Ramazán, A H 1327 (= Oct 3, 1909), is lithographed From the long interval separating these two numbers, as well as from sundry differences apparent in arrangement and production, I am disposed to believe that in reality two independent papers named *Ma'rifat* were published in Yazd, one ("jelly-graphed") towards the end of A H 1325, and another (lithographed) about the middle of A.H. 1327. In size the two agree (4 pp. of 10½" × 6"), but the yearly subscriptions differ as follows: No. 6 (the "jelly-graph"), 20 *qráns* in Yazd, 23 *qráns* elsewhere in Persia; No. 8 (the lithograph), 10 *qráns* in Yazd, 12 *qráns* elsewhere in Persia. No editor's name appears on No. 6.

(330)

Ma'rifatu'l-Akhláq (*Knowledge of Ethics*). معرفة الاخلاق

A paper published in Tihrán in A H 1326 (= A D 1908–9)

Not in Rabino, and not seen

(331)

Miftáhu'z-Zafar (*The Key of Victory*) مفتاح الظفر

A weekly scientific paper lithographed at Calcutta in A H 1315 (= A.D 1897–8) under the editorship of Mírzá Sayyid Hasan of Káshán, afterwards editor of the Tihrán *Hablu'l-Matín*

See Rabino, No 194 I possess Nos 13 and 4 (*sic*) of the Second Year, the former dated the 26th of Dhu'l Qa'da A H 1316 (=April 4, 1899), and the latter the 19th of Jumádá 1, A H 1317 (=Oct 1, 1899) The number of pages varies from 4 to 8 of 11½" × 6¾", lithographed in a rather large and ungraceful *ta'líq* Yearly subscription, 10 rupees in India and the Persian Gulf, 35 *qráns* in Persia and Afghánistán, 25 francs in China, Japan, Russia and Europe, and 5 mejidiyyes in Turkey

(332)

Mufarrihu'l-Qulúb (*The Rejoicer of Hearts*) مفرح القلوب

A weekly newspaper published at Karáchí (Sind) in A.H. 1302–3 (= A D 1885) and edited by Mírzá Muhammad Ja'far and Mírzá Muhammad Sádiq of Mashhad, Persian Consul at Karáchí

See above, No 310, under the *Mudarris i Farsí* through which alone it is known to us.

(333)

Mukáfát (*Recompense*) مكافات

A paper published in Khúy (Ázarbáyjan) in A H 1327 (= A.D. 1909) under the editorship of Mírzá Áqa Khán Hirandí, director of the *Madrasa-i-Musáwát* ("College of Equality"). Most of the articles in this paper were from the pen of Abu'l-Hasan Khán, Muhammad 'Alí-záda, entitled *Sa'ídu'l-Mamálik*, and Amír-i-Hishmat, who at that time held Khúy and Salmás on behalf of the Revolutionaries Its proprietor was Mírzá Nuru'lláh Yakání. In politics the paper was Revolutionary.

See Rabino, No. 195 I possess No 5, dated the 24th of Safar, A H 1327 ([illegible] 18, 1909). It comprises 4 pp of 11¼" × 6¾" Price of each copy, one [illegible]

(334)

Maktab (*The School*) مكتب

A paper printed in Tihrán in A.H. 1323 (= A.D. 1905–6) under the editorship of Hájji Mírzá Hasan of Tabríz, known as *Rushdiyya*.

Not in Rabino, and not seen.

(335)

Mu'ayyad (*Aided*) مؤيد

A paper "jelly-graphed" in Láhiján in A.H. 1325 (= A.D. 1907–8).

See Rabino, No. 196, on whose authority it is here inserted.

(336)

Mahdí Hammál (*Mahdí the Porter*[1]) مهدى حمّال

A paper printed in Rasht in A.H. 1328 (= A.D. 1910) under the editorship of Akbar-záda. Only one number of it appeared.

See Rabino, No. 197, on whose authority it is here inserted. The date of publication was the 16th of Ramazán A.H. 1328 (= Sept. 21, 1910).

(337)

Mízán (*The Balance*) ميزان

An illustrated comic paper lithographed in Tihrán in A.H. 1329 (= A.D. 1911) under the editorship of *Fakhru'l-Wá'izín* of Káshán. In politics it was Democrat.

Not in Rabino, and not seen.

(338)

Mitq (*Thought*) Միտք

A paper printed at Tabríz in the Armenian language in A.H. 1330 (= A.D. 1912) under the editorship of Alexander Dér Wartaniyáns, also editor of the Persian *Fikr*. (See No. 265 *supra*.)

Not in Rabino, and not seen.

[1] Mahdí Hammál ("the Porter") was well known in Tihrán as a man of immense height, bulk and strength, and of voracious appetite. He would eat 1½ or a maund of bread and cheese, and could carry the weight of a *kharwár* on his shoulders. His voracity has become proverbial.

(339)

[illegible] ناصری

A paper lithographed in Tabríz every ten days in A.H. 1311 (= A.D. 1893–4) under the editorship of Mullá Muhammad *Nadím-báshí* ("Chief Courtier"), director of the Muzaffarí College in Tabríz, and subsequently *Nadímu's-Sultán* and Minister of the Press The paper was subsequently edited by *Iqbálu'l-Kuttáb*, and finally by Ḥájjí Mírzá Mas'úd Khán *Safá'u'l-Mamálik*, son of Ḥájjí Sayyid Hasan *'Adlu'l-Mulk* of Tabríz It was semi-official, and was even considered as one of the official newspapers, and continued to be published for nearly seven years Its polemics against the Constantinople *Akhtar* ("Star," *q v* No. 34 *supra*) deserve attention

See Rabino, No 198 I possess No 33 of the Third Year, dated the first of Ramazán, A H 1314 (= Feb 3, 1897) It comprises 4 pp of 12" × 6¾" Yearly subscription, 16 *qráns* in Persia, 4 roubles in Russia and the Caucasus, 40 piastres in Turkey, and 5 rupees in India

(340)

Náqúr (*The Clarion*) ناقور

A paper lithographed twice a week in Isfahán in A H 1326 (= A D 1908–9) under the editorship of Mírzá Masíh Túysirkání The comic or satirical portion of this paper, entitled *Zisht u Zíbá* ("Foul and Fair"), was written in a very agreeable literary style In politics it was thorough going Liberal and Constitutionalist

See Rabino, No 200, according to whom 25 numbers appeared in all, the first on the 21st of Dhu'l Qa'da, A H 1326 (= Nov 25, 1908) I possess No. 9, dated the 24th of Safar, A H 1327 (= March 17, 1909) It comprises 4 pp. of 11¾" × 6¾". Yearly subscription, 14 *qráns* in Isfahán, 17 *qráns* elsewhere in Persia. Lithographed in good *naskh*

(341)

Nála-i-Millat (*The Nation's Cry*) ناله ملت

A paper lithographed in Tabríz in A H 1326 (= A D. 1908–9) under the editorship of Mírzá Áqá, editor of the *Istiqlál*. In politics the paper was thorough-going Liberal and Constitutionalist.

See Rabino, No 199. I possess No 38 of the First Year, dated the 14th of [illegible], A.H 1326 (= Feb 17, 1908), which seems to show that the paper was [illegible] in the latter part of A H 1325, not in 1326 It comprises 4 pp. of [illegible] Yearly subscription, 6 *qráns* in Tabríz, 10 *qráns* elsewhere in Persia, 4 [illegible]

(342)

Náma-i-Ḥaqíqat (*The Letter of Truth*)

A paper published in Tihrán in A H 1326 (= A.D 1908–9).

Not in Rabino, and not seen

(343)

Náma-i-Watan (*The Letter of the Fatherland*) نامهٔ وطن

A paper lithographed in Haydarábád in the Deccan in A H 1326 (?) (= A D 1908–9) under the editorship of the *Sakhlú-báshí*, a fugitive from Tihrán The articles of this paper dealt with the supernatural, and it laid down sundry religious laws.

See Rabino, No 201 I possess No 7 of the Second Year, dated Ṣafar, A H 1326 (= March, 1908) It comprises 16 pp of 10¾″ × 6½″, lithographed in poor *ta'líq* No price is indicated

(344)

Naját (*Salvation*) نجات

A newspaper printed at first once and subsequently twice a week in Ṭihrán in A H 1327 (= A D 1909), before the capture of Tihrán by the National Armies, under the editorship of Mírzá Muhammad of Khurásán, editor of the paper *Huqúq* ("Rights," *q.v.*), and afterwards Member of the Second National Assembly In consequence of a somewhat Liberal article, this paper was suspended by Sa'du'd-Dawla's Cabinet, which suspension provided one of the causes which led to the attack of the National Volunteers (*Mujáhidín*) of Qazwín on Tihrán After the capture of Tihrán it again resumed publication In politics it was thorough-going Liberal and Constitutionalist, but not Democratic as Rabino asserts

See Rabino, No. 202 I possess Nos 1, 6, 15, 18 and 25, the first dated the 3rd of Jumáda ii, A H 1327 (= June 22, 1909), and the last the 4th of Shawwál (= Oct 19) of the same year Contains 4 or 8 pp of 12½″ × 6¾″ Yearly subscription, 10 *qrans* in Tihran, 17 elsewhere in Persia, and 25 francs abroad.

(345)

Naját (*Salvation*) نجات

A "jelly-graphed" paper published in Rasht.

See Rabino, No. 203, on whose authority it is here inserted

(346)

Najat (*Salvation*). نجات

A paper printed in Khúy in A H. 1329 (= A D 1911) In politics it was Democratic

See Rabino, No 204 Not seen by the translator

(347)

Naját-i-Watan (*The Country's Salvation*) نجات وطن

A paper published in Isfahán in A.H 1327 (= A D 1909)

See Rabino, No 205, on whose authority it is here inserted He adds that not more than seven or eight numbers were published

(348)

Najaf. نجف

A weekly paper printed at Najaf in A H 1328 (= A D 1910) under the editorship of Sayyid Muslim Zawín-záda and Hájji Muhammad ibn Hájji Husayn, and owned by Shaykh Husayn of Tihrán

See Rabino, No 206 I possess No 6, dated the 16th of Jumada i, A.H 1328 (= May 26, 1910) It comprises 8 pp of 9½" × 6½" Yearly subscription, 25 piastres in Najaf, 30 piastres elsewhere in Turkey, 15 *qráns* in Persia, and 8 francs abroad

(349)

Najm-i-Bákhtar (*The Star of the West*) نجم باختر

See above under *Payámbar-i-Bakhtar* ("The Prophet of the West"), No 96 *supra*

See Rabino, No 207 It was published at Washington

(350)

Nidá-yi-Rasht (*The Voice of Rasht*) ندای رشت

A paper printed in Rasht in A H 1329 (= A D 1911). Only two numbers of it appeared the first, according to Rabino, on the 28th of Rabí' i, A H 1329 (= March 29, 1911), and the second on the 2nd of Rabí' ii (April 2) of the same year

See Rabino, No 208

(351)

Nidá-yi-Islám (*The Voice of Islám*) ندای اسلام

A weekly newspaper lithographed at Shíráz in A.H 1325 (= A.D. 1907–8) under the editorship of Sayyid Ziyá'u'd-Dín-i-

Ṭabátabá'í of Yazd, editor of the newspapers Sh[illegible] (*q.v.*).

See Rabino, No 209. I possess Nos. 7, 14, and 25 The first is dated [illegible] of Safar, A H 1325 (= March 26, 1907) Each number consists of from 4 [illegible] of 10″ × 7″, lithographed (the earlier numbers in green ink) in a large and g[illegible] Yearly subscription, 30 *qráns* in Shíráz, 36 *qráns* elsewhere in Persia, and [illegible] abroad

(352)

Nidá-yi-Waṭan (*The Country's Call*) نداى وطن

A weekly, subsequently bi-weekly, and finally, daily paper printed at Tihrán in A H 1324 (= A D 1906–7) under the editorship of Majdu'l-Islám of Kirmán, editor of the newspapers *Kashgúl* and *Muḥákamát* (*q v*)

See Rabino, No 210, who gives the 11th of Dhu'l-Qa'da, A H 1324 (= Dec 27, 1906) as the date of first issue I possess a fairly complete set Each number comprises from 4 to 8 pp of 11½″ × 6¾″ Yearly subscription, 30 *qráns* in Ṭihrán, 36 *qráns* elsewhere in Persia, 5 mejidiyyés in Turkey and Egypt, 17 francs in America and Europe, 10 roubles in Russia, and 15 rupees in India.

(353)

Nidá-yi-Janúb (*The Voice of the South*) نداى جنوب

Of this paper, which is not mentioned either by Mírzá Muhammad 'Alí "Tarbiyat" or by Rabino, I possess one copy, No. 2, dated the 22nd of Dhu'l-Qa'da, A H 1329 (= Nov 15, 1911). It comprises 8 pp of 15″ × 8½″, and was printed in Ṭihrán. Proprietor and chief contributor, Mírzá Báqir Khán, teacher and translator, of Tabríz, responsible editor, Muhammad Báqir Khán Tangistání Yearly subscription, 18 *qráns* in Ṭihrán, 20 *qráns* elsewhere in Persia, and 22 *qráns* abroad The paper is described in the title as founded in Shawwál, A.H. 1329 (= Sept.–Oct., 1911)

(354)

Nasím-i-Shimál (*The Breeze of the North*) نسيم شمال

A paper printed in Rasht in A H 1325 (= A.D 1907–8) under the editorship of Sayyid-Ashraf This was one of the best literary papers, and in particular contained many notable poems, both serious and satirical.

[illegible], No. [illegible], according to whom it appeared at irregular intervals, the [illegible] the 2nd of Sha'bán, A.H. 1325 (= Sept. 10, 1907), and the "Third [illegible]" with No. 69. I possess Nos 9–12, 14, 16, 18, 19, 21, 23, 27, 33, 46, [illegible]; Nos. 5 and 7 of the Third Year, No 10 (dated the 2nd of Sha'bán, A.H. 1329 = July 29, 1911), and Nos. 12–14, 16 The numbering is somewhat erratic, and the intervals of publication were very irregular

(355)

Nazmiyya (*The Police*) نظمیه

A weekly illustrated newspaper lithographed in Tabríz in A.H. 1326 (= A.D. 1908–9) under the editorship of Mashhadí Mahmúd Isgandání The first number of it contains the portrait of *Ijlálu'l-Mulk*, Chief of the Police at Tabríz

See Rabino, No 212, who gives the name of the proprietor as Muhammad 'Alí, and states that the first issue was on the 23rd of Rabí' I, A.H. 1326 (= April 25, 1908) I possess No 1, which is lithographed in an indifferent *ta'líq*, and comprises 4 pp of 12¾" × 6¾" Yearly subscription, 8 *qráns* in Tabríz, 10 *qráns* elsewhere in Persia.

(356)

Naqsh-i-Jahán (*The Picture of the World*) نقش جهان

An illustrated weekly paper lithographed in Isfahán in A.H. 1325 (= A.D. 1907–8), and published by the office of the newspaper *Isfahán* (See No 49 *supra*.)

See Rabino, No 213, who gives the date of No 1 as the 23rd of Shawwál, A.H. 1325 (= Nov 29, 1907) I possess No 1, which comprises 4 pp of 11¾" × 6", lithographed in *ta'líq*, with two cartoons Yearly subscription, 12 *qráns* in Isfahán

(357)

Naw-Bahár (*Early Spring*) نوبهار

A paper printed in Mashhad twice a week in A.H. 1328 (= A.D. 1910), of which No 1 was dated the 9th of Shawwál (= Oct 14, 1910) of that year, under the editorship of the *Maliku'sh-Shu'ará* ("King of the Poets"), who signed under the *nom de guerre* of "M. Bahár." This paper had a special importance on account of its extreme boldness and fiery denunciations, especially against the Russian aggressions Finally, in consequence of the complaints of the Russian Legation in Tihrán, the Ministry for Foreign Affairs ordered its suppression, but it subsequently resumed publication under the title of *Táza Bahár*. (See No. 98 *supra*.) In politics this paper was Democrat.

See Rabino, No. 214 I possess Nos. 1, 28, 39 and 48, the first dated ... the last the 12th of Jumáda I, A H 1329 (= May 11, 1911) Each comprises ... 16½" x 10½" Yearly subscription, 25 qráns in Mashhad, 30 qráns elsewhere in ... 6 roubles abroad

(358)

Naw-rúz (*New Year's Day*) نوروز

A weekly paper lithographed in Tihrán in A H 1320 (= A.D. 1902–3), edited by *Názimu'l-Islám* of Kirmán, also editor of the *Kawkib-i-durri-yi-Násirí* (see No 286 *supra*), and written by Mírzá Kázim Khán of Kirmán

See Rabino, No 215, who gives the date of first issue as the 22nd of Dhu'l-Hijja, A.H 1320 (= March 22, 1903) I do not possess a copy

(359)

Naw-rúz (*New Year's Day*) نوروز

A paper lithographed in Isfahán in A H 1325 (= A D 1907–8)

See Rabino, No 216, on whose authority it is here inserted

(360)

Naw'-i-Bashar (*The Human Race*) نوع بشر

A paper printed in Rasht twice a week in A H 1329 (= A.D. 1911)

See Rabino, No 217, who says that only six numbers appeared, the first on the 25th of Rabí' II, A H 1329 (= April 25, 1911), and the last on the 23rd of Jumáda I (= May 22) of the same year I possess Nos 1, 3 and 6 Each comprises 4 pp. of 11⅝" x 6¾" Yearly subscription, 15 qráns in Rasht, and the same elsewhere plus postage

(361)

Nayyir-i-A'zam (*The Greater Luminary*) نیر اعظم

A paper printed in Tihrán twice a week in A H 1325 (= A.D. 1907), under the editorship of the *Mu'inu'l-'Ulamá* of Isfahán, who was afterwards suspected of favouring the Reaction, and, after the capture of Tihrán by the Nationalists (in July, 1909), was imprisoned for nearly a year with other political offenders.

See Rabino, No 218. I possess Nos 2 and 13, of which the former is dated the 16th of Ramazán, A.H. 1325 (= Oct 23, 1907), and the latter the 6th of Dhu'l-Qa'da (= Dec. 11) of the same year Each comprises 4 pp. of 12" x 7" Yearly subscription 12 qráns in Tihrán, 17 qráns elsewhere in Persia, and 11 francs abroad.

(362)

Waṭan (*Fatherland*) وطن

A weekly paper printed, and afterwards lithographed, in Ṭihrán in A.H 1324 (= A D 1906–7)

See Rabino, No 219 I possess Nos 3 and 10, dated Jan 27 and April 22 respectively, both of which are printed, and Nos 17, 20, 21 and 22, all of which are lithographed The last number is dated the 12th of Ramazán, A H 1325 (= Oct 19, 1907) Each number comprises 4 pp of 11″ × 6¾″ Yearly subscription, [illegible] *qráns*

(363)

Waṭan dili (*The Mother Tongue*) وطن دلی

This paper, mentioned only by Rabino (No 220), was lithographed at Tabríz in the Ázarbáyjání Turkish language

I possess one (probably incomplete) copy, consisting of a single sheet, lithographed on both sides in a good, clear *naskh*, and bearing this title at the top of p 1, but no date, subscription price, or other particulars The sheet measures 12″ × 6¾″ I am doubtful from its appearance whether it is a newspaper at all, in the proper sense of the word, and not rather an isolated sheet It contains one long and complete article or appeal

(364)

Waqt (*Time*) وقت

A full-sized daily paper printed in Ṭihrán in A H 1328 (= A D 1910) under the editorship of Mírzá Husayn Khán Kasmá'í It was a strong supporter of the Sipahdár's Cabinet, and the Moderates, and used to attack with vehemence the *Írán-i-Naw* (see No 77 *supra*) and the Opposition (*i e* the Democrats), generally striving to cast suspicion on their orthodoxy in matters of Religion and Law It had a comic or satirical section entitled *Dari-Wari*, which is almost unintelligible. In politics it was Moderate

See Rabino, No 221, who says that in all 66 numbers were published, the first on the 21st of Rabí' i, A.H 1328 (= April 2, 1910), and the last on the 11th of Jumádá ii (= June 20) of the same year I possess Nos 1–46, the first, a single sheet printed on one side only, being dated 11 days earlier than Rabino says (March 22, 1910), and the last May 26 of the same year Most of the numbers comprise 4 pp of [illegible]″ × 14½″ Yearly subscription, 50 *qráns* in Ṭihrán, 60 *qráns* elsewhere in Persia, and [illegible] *qráns* abroad.

(365)

Hidáyat (*Guidance*) هدایت

A weekly paper printed in Tihrán in A H 1325 (= A.D. 1907) under the editorship of Mírzá Muhammad of Tihrán.

See Rabino, No 222, according to whom it first appeared on the 7th of Rajab, A.H 1325 (= Aug 14, 1907) This is correct, but the paper seems to have been suppressed or suspended for eight months immediately afterwards, for No 2 is dated the 5th of Rabí' I, A H 1326 (= April 7, 1908) I possess Nos. 1, 2 and 4. Each comprises 4 pp of 12¼" × 7" Yearly subscription, 34 *qráns* in Tihrán, 40 *qráns* in the provinces, 9 roubles in Russia and the Caucasus, and 25 francs in other foreign countries

(366)

Hidáyat (*Guidance*) هدایت

A weekly paper lithographed in Qazwín in A H 1326 (= A.D. 1908–9) under the editorship of Mír Hádí Shaykhu'l-Islámí.

See Rabino, No 223 I possess Nos 2 and 4, dated respectively the 3rd and the 20th of Rabí' I, A H 1326 (= April 5 and 22, 1908) Each comprises 4 pp. of 12¼" × 7" Yearly subscription, 8 *qráns* in Qazwín, 10 *qráns* elsewhere in Persia, 1½ mejidiyyés in Turkey and Egypt, 2 roubles in Russia and the Caucasus, and 6 francs in Europe and America

(367)

همه‌دان

Hama-dán (*All knowing*—a word-play on *Hamadán*, the well-known city)

A weekly paper printed at Hamadán in A H 1325 (= A.D. 1907–8) under the editorship of Hájji Husayn

See Rabino, No 224, who states that No 18 was dated the 19th of Shawwál, A.H 1325 (= Nov 25, 1907) I do not possess a copy

(368)

Hawá wa Hawas (*Freak and Fancy*) هوا و هوس

A paper "jelly-graphed" in Láhiján in A H 1325 (= A.D. 1907–8) under the editorship of Hájji Husayn

See Rabino, No 225, on whose authority it is here inserted I have not seen it.

(369)

Yádgár-i-Inqiláb (*Memorial of the Revolution*) یادگار انقلاب

A paper lithographed in Qazwín twice a week in A.H. 1327 (= A.D. 1909) under the editorship of the *Mu'tamadu'l-Islám*

Rasht during the sojourn of the National Volunteers (*Mujáhidín*) at that place. After the Conquest of Ṭihrán, the paper was transferred thither and published there. In politics it was Revolutionary.

See Rabino, No. 226. I possess Nos 1, 2 and 5, dated the 1st, 5th and 18th of Jumádá ii, A.H. 1327 (= June 20, June 24 and July 7, 1909). Each number comprises 4 pp. of 11⅝" × 6⅞". Price in Qazwín, 100 *dínárs* (1/10 of a *qrán*) a copy. Elsewhere in Persia, 12 *qráns* a year.

(370)

Yádigár-i-Inqiláb (*Memorial of the Revolution*) یادگار انقلاب

A paper printed in Ṭihrán in A.H. 1327 (= A.D. 1909) under the editorship of the above-mentioned *Mu'tamadu'l-Islám* of Rasht.

See Rabino, No. 226. I possess Nos 9, 10, 12, 17, 18 and 20, the first dated the 24th of Rajab, the last the 15th of Dhu'l Qa'da, A.H. 1327 (= Aug. 11, 1909, and Nov. 28, 1909, respectively). Each number contains 4 pp. of 11½" × 6⅞". Yearly subscription, 12 *qráns* in Ṭihrán, 15 *qráns* elsewhere in Persia, 3 roubles in Russia, and 8 francs in Europe.

(371)

Yádigár-i-Janúb (*Memorial of the South*) یادگار جنوب

A weekly paper printed in Ṭihrán in A.H. 1329 (= A.D. 1911).

Not in Rabino, and not seen.

MODERNISING INFLUENCES IN THE PERSIAN PRESS OTHER THAN MAGAZINES AND JOURNALS.

Since the most important effect of the Press in every country is the awakening of political and literary opinion amongst the people, it is not inappropriate that we should conclude with a brief survey of the relations which exist between the early activities of the Press in Persia, and the latest movement of renascence and renovation

That portion of this subject which is connected with periodical publications, *i e* newspapers and magazines, has been discussed in the preceding section and we shall here speak only of the effects of certain books and pamphlets which were operative in bringing about this awakening of thought, most of which were either translations of European books, or were inspired by European civilization and culture, and which acted for the most part by means of a gradual and peaceful progress

Amongst printed books of this class the first place must be assigned to the earlier scientific and technical works, whether translated or compiled, published in the early days of the foundation of the State College, or *Dáru'l-Funún*, at Tihrán (when a large number of European teachers were imported to give instruction there and in the Military College) to be used for teaching purposes, to which must be added a few earlier books ranging from the time of Prince 'Abbás Mírzá *Ná'ibu's-Saltana* to that period The greater number of these books were composed by these new European teachers or the old Persian teachers of the College, such as Lieut Krziz, M Buhler, M Lemaire, M. Vauvillier, Dr Polak, Dr Albu, M Nicolas, M Richard, M. Andreini, and M Gasteiger of the former[1], and Ḥájji Najmu'd-Dawla, Mírzá Zakí of Mázandarán, Mírzá Kázim, Instructor in

[1] I am indebted to General Sir A Houtum Schindler, K.C I.E., for the [illegible] of these gentlemen and for particulars concerning them. Artillery [illegible] Krziz and Dr Polak were two of the seven Austrians brought to Persia in 1851. The former returned to Europe in 1850, the latter in 1860 Capitaine Alexandre [illegible]

Natural Sciences, 'Alí Khán *Náẓimu'l-'Ulúm*, Zaká'u'l-Mulk and others of the latter. As an appendix to this brief sketch we shall give a partial and incomplete table of the most important of these new scientific and literary works By the special kindness of H E Rizá-qulí Khán, General Superintendent of the Ministry of Sciences and of the *Dáru'l-Funún* College (son of Nayyiru'l-Mulk, and grandson of the celebrated Rizá-qulí Khán *Lala-báshi*) I am enabled to include in this table a list of printed books composed by the older and younger writers of the Government Colleges (such as the *Dáru'l-Funún* and the Military and Political Colleges). The remaining items I have myself supplied, and the result I now put forward in the following pages so as to leave a foundation, poor and defective though it may be, which others devoted to the collecting of such information and interested in the study of the history of books and arts, may render more complete and comprehensive

Amongst the more celebrated of the older Persian writers of this class were the late Hájji Najmu'd-Dawla (Mírzá 'Abdu'l-Ghaffár, son of Mírzá 'Ali Muhammad of Isfahán) the Chief Astrologer (*Munajjim-báshi*), who was entitled "Professor of all the exact Sciences" in the *Dáru'l-Funún* College, and who was the author of numerous published Works on the Mathematical and Natural Sciences He only died recently, in A H 1328 (= A.D. 1910), his age, according to current report, exceeding 90 years

11 Régiment de Génie, came to Persia in 1855, captured Herat in Nov 1856, taught military science at the College, and took part in many expeditions. He died, a General of the First Class, in 1887 M Albert Lemaire was sent to Persia by the French Government in 1868 to teach military music He died in 1907 M Felix Vauvilher came to Persia in 1865 on behalf of a French Syndicate for a railway, but was afterwards employed by the Persian Government in constructing an Arsenal, and afterwards as teacher of Mineralogy at the College He retired on a pension about 1900 and died a few years later Dr Albu of Berlin was engaged by the Mukhbiru'd Dawla for the College in 1881. He returned to Europe after 8 or 9 years of teaching and private practice in Persia. M J B Nicolas, the translator of 'Umar Khayyám, was the father of M. Alphonse Nicolas, now French Consul at Tabríz. M Richard came to Persia in 1844 or 1846, fell in love with a Kurdish girl, and turned Musulmán in order to marry her. M F Andreini was a Tuscan volunteer in the 1848 revolutionary movement, fled to Constantinople in 1849 entered the service of the Persian Government in 1851, and died in 1894. M Gasteiger, an Austrian adventurer, came to Persia in the early [illegible], was engaged on various engineering works and resigned in 1889. He died [illegible] afterwards.

Another was Muhammad Ḥasan Khán *I'timádu's-Salṭana* (son of Ḥájjí 'Alí Khán, entitled *Ḥájibu'd-Dawla*, of Marágha), Minister of the Press, who contributed many additions to the *Sál-námas* or "Year Books" Although, according to the statements of credible authorities, he himself was devoid of any profound knowledge or scholarship, and merely caused these works to be written under his supervision and the control of the Ministry of the Press by those men of learning whom he collected from every quarter, afterwards causing their writings to be published in his own name, yet since it was under his name that these books appeared, they are commonly known as his, and must therefore necessarily be described as such

Another was Riẓá-qulí Khán of Shíráz, known as *Lala-báshí*, and poetically named *Hidáyat* (father of the present *Nayyiru'l-Mulk*), whose literary works are some of the most important which have appeared in Persia in the last century

Others are the late Mírzá Muhammad Husayn *Zaká'u'l-Mulk* and his son Mírzá Muhammad 'Alí Khán, the present *Zaká'u'l-Mulk*, who co-operated in the translation and compilation of many works

Then mention must be made of certain well-known doctors, such as Dr Muhammad of Kirmánsháh, Dr Rizá, Dr Abu'l-Ḥasan Khán, Dr 'Alí, and others, who have left as memorials of their learning and energy numerous works on Anatomy, Medicine, and other Natural Sciences

After these mention may be made of the following (not in chronological order). Mírzá Yúsuf Khán *Mustasháru'd-Dawla* of Tabríz, Ḥájjí Mírzá 'Abdu'r-Rahím *Najjár-záda* of Tabríz, known as "Ṭáliboff", Mírzá Habíb of Isfahán, long resident in Constantinople, Ḥájjí Muhammad Táhir Mírzá (the father of the present Kafílu'd-Dawla and the grandfather of Sulaymán Mírzá, Member of the Second National Assembly), Mírzá Taqí Khán of Káshán, Mírzá Áqá Khán of Kirmán, and others. Amongst the beneficent agencies which rendered valuable services to the cause of education was the Society for the publication of books (*Shirkat-i-tab'-i-kutub*) in Ṭihrán, which was founded about A.H 1320 (= A.D. 1902) or a little earlier, and published a great many important works. One of the

most active members of this was Ḥájji Mírzá Yaḥyá of Dawlatábád.

Here is subjoined a brief list of the scientific, literary and historical publications of recent times, printed in Persia or abroad since the introduction of the art of printing into that country[1].

1. *List of printed books composed or compiled by the older and more recent teachers of the* Dáru'l-Funún *College*

1. Military treatise on the science of Artillery, by Mírzá Zakí of Mázandarán
2. Natural Philosophy and Mechanics, by the same
3. Geography, by the same
4. Military treatise on the science of Artillery, by M Nicolas.
5. Ditto, by M Buhler
6. Mathematics, by Lieut Krziz
7. Algebra, by the same
8. Surgery, by Dr Polak
9. The Science of Artillery and Fortification, by Lieut. Krziz
10. *Mízánu'l-Ḥisáb* (Arithmetic), by Mírzá Zakí
11. Therapeutics, by Dr Abu'l-Hasan Khan
12. Physiology, by Dr Albu
13. The Science of Music, by M Lemaire.
14. Principles of Chemistry, by the late Mírzá Kázim
15. Anatomy, by Dr 'Alí *Ra'ísu'l-Aṭibbá*
16. Medical Dictionary, by Dr J L Schlimmer, published in 1874.
17. Elementary Arithmetic, by Mírzá 'Abdu'l-Ghaffár *Najmu'd-Dawla* Its proper title is *Bidáyatu'l-Ḥisáb*
18. *Kifáyatu'l-Ḥisab*, a Manual of Arithmetic, by the same.
19. *Wasíṭu'l-Ḥisáb*, a more advanced Manual of the same, by the same

[1] We shall not mention here the old books and treatises which have been printed or published during this period, but perhaps on a future occasion we may succeed in compiling a complete catalogue of all Persian printed and lithographed books, such as the American Dr Edward Van Dyck has done for Arabic printed books, under the title of *Iktifá'u'l-Qunú' bi-má huwa maṭbú'*.

20. *Nihāyatu'l-Hisāb*, a still more advanced Manual, by the same.

21. Detailed Geometry and Abridged Geometry, by the same.

22. Geography with Atlas, by the same

23. Algebra, by the same.

24. Natural History, by the same

25. Translation of *Télémaque*, by the same

26. French-Persian Dictionary, by Mírzá 'Alí Akbar Khán *Muzayyinu'd-Dawla Naqqásh-báshi*

27. French-Persian Dialogues, by the same

28. French Verbs, explained in Persian, by the same

29. Elementary and secondary Geometry, by Mírzá Rizá Khán *Muhandisu'l-Mulk*

30. Elementary and secondary Geography, by the same

31. Solution of Algebraical Problems, by the same

32. Geographical projections (*Jahán-numá-yi-musattaha*) and Map of Persia, by the same

33. Maps of America and Africa, by the same

34. Chemistry, by Mírzá Mahmúd Khán

35. Arithmetic according to the four fundamental rules, by Mírzá Asadu'lláh Khán *Muhandisu's-Sultán*

36. Elementary Geometry, by the same

37. Elementary Geography, by the same

38. Method of composition, by M Richard

39. Grammar of composition, by the same.

40. Translation of ماطیان, by the same

41. *Usul-i-'Ilm-i-Jabr*, on Algebra, by Áqá Khán *Muhásibu'd-Dawla*

42. Geography, by the same

43. Geography of Muhammad Safí Khán *Názimu'l-'Ulúm*.

44. Pocket Atlas, by Sulaymán Khán *Ihtisábu'l-Mulk*

45. Elementary History of the Eastern Nations and of Greece, by Mírzá 'Alí Khán *Mutarjimu's-Saltana*

2 *List of Books published by the teachers of the Political College*

46. History of Rome, by *Zaká'u'l-Mulk*

47. Short history of Greece, translated by *Nusratu's-Sultán*

48. History of Eastern Nations, translated by *Zaká'u'l-Mulk.*

49. Wealth, translated by the same.

50. Fundamental Rights, translated by the same

51. *Ta'ríkh-i-mukhtasar-i-Írán* History of Persia, by the same.

52. History of Greece, translated by Sayyid 'Alí Khán.

53 Fundamental Rights, by *Manşúru's-Saltana*

54 International Rights, by *Mushíru'd-Dawla*

3. *List of printed books composed or compiled by the older and more recent teachers of the Military College*

55 Movement of troops, translated by M Andreini

56 Science of Fortification, translated by Mirza 'Alí Akbar Khán, Engineer, of Shíráz

57 Movement of troops, according to the English method, translated by Bahrám Khán Qájár

58 Artillery drill with guns of 8 9 centimetres

59 Austrian centimetry

60 The Soldier's Whole Duty, translated by M Gasteiger and Karím Khán

61 Drill Book, translated by the same

62 Drill Book

63 Infantry formations Austrian method, translated by Karím Khán

64 Military Drill Book, translated by M Gasteiger and Karím Khán

65 General Regulations and Duties of the Barracks (translator unknown)

4 *Miscellaneous Works, translated and original*

66. *History of Peter the Great of Russia*
67. „ „ *Charles XII of Sweden*
68 „ „ *Alexander*

} by Voltaire, translated by command of 'Abbás Mírzá *Ná'ibu's-Saltana.*

69. *Jám-i-Jam* ("the World-showing Goblet of Jamshíd"), on Geography, translated by Farhád Mírzá *Mu'tamadu'd-Dawla*, son of 'Abbás Mírzá *Ná'ibu's-Saltana.* [It was published about

1850, and appears to be a translation of William Pinnock's Geography]

70. *Jahán-numá* ("the World-shower") or Geography, by Mírzá Rafá'íl

71. *Refutation of the Materialists*, by Sayyid Jamálu'd-Dín al-Afghání

72 *Hájjí Babá*, by Sir Robert Morier, translated by Shaykh Ahmad Rúhí of Kirmán

73. *History of Persia*, by Sir John Malcolm, translated by Mírzá Hayrat

74. *Ajmalu't-Tawáríkh*, a short history of Persia, by Rizá-qulí Khán *Lala-báshí*, *Amíru'sh-Shu'ará*, poetically named *Hidáyat*.

75 *Safar-nama-i-Khwárazm*, by the same, being an account of his embassy to Khwárazm or Khiva [Published by Leroux of Paris in 1879, with translation and annotations by the late M Charles Schefer]

76 Supplement to Mírkhwánd's Universal History, the *Rawzatu's-Safá* (composed about A D 1500) carrying the history down to the middle of the nineteenth century, also by the above-mentioned Rizá-qulí Khán

77 The *Gulistán-i-Iram* ("Rose-garden of Iram") or *Bektásh-náma*, an imaginative romance, by the same

78 *Majma'u'l-Fusahá* ("the Assembly of the Eloquent"), a great Anthology and Biography of Persian Poets in two folio volumes, by the same

79 *Farhang-i-Anjuman-ára-yi-Násirí*, a large dictionary of Persian words explained in Persian, by the same

80. The *Khán of Lankurán*, *Musta'lí Sháh the Wizard*, and other national plays, descriptive of the condition of Persia and the Caucasus, in seven volumes, by Mírzá Fath-'Alí Ákhundoff of Tiflis, translated by Mírzá Ja'far of Qarája Dágh.

81 *Yak Kalima* ("One Word"), comparing the Rights of Man and the Laws of Europe with the *Qur'án* and the Traditions, by Mírzá Yúsuf Khán *Mustasháru'd-Dawla* of Tabríz.

82. *Ganjína-i-Dánish* ("the Treasury of Knowledge"), Elementary Scientific Dialogues, for Children, by the same.

83. *The Strata of the Earth*, on Geology, translated from the Turkish, by the same.

84. *Treatise on the Potato*, how to plant it and how to raise it in a scientific manner, by the same

85 *Hadá'iqu'l-Tabí'at* ("Gardens of Nature"), on Natural Philosophy and Astronomy, by Mírzá Taqí Khán of Káshán

86. *Education*, by the same

87. *The Three Musketeers* of Alexandre Dumas, translated by Muhammad Táhir Mírzá

88 *The Count of Monte Cristo* of Alexandre Dumas, translated by the same

89. *La Reine Margot* of Alexandre Dumas, translated by the same

90 *Louis XIV* of Alexandre Dumas, translated by the same.

91 *Louis XV* of Alexandre Dumas, translated by the same

92 *Kitáb-i-Ahmad, yá, Safína-i-Tálibí*, containing scientific and ethical Dialogues for children, by Mullá 'Abdu'r-Rahím "Táliboff" of Tabríz, 2 volumes

93. *The New Astronomy* of Flammarion, translated by the above "Táliboff'

94. *Natural Philosophy*, by the above "Táliboff."

95 *Nukhba-i-Sipihrí* ("the Celestial Choice"), on the life of the Prophet, abridged from the *Násikhu't-Tawáríkh* (see *infra*), by "Táliboff"

96. *Masáliku'l-Muhsinín* ("Ways of Well-doers") a romance containing scientific and political matters, by "Táliboff"

97 *Masá'ilu'l-Hayát* ("Problems of Life"), dealing with sundry scientific and political matters, by "Táliboff"

98 *Ázádí chi chíz-ast?* ("What is Freedom?"), by "Táliboff."

99. *Pand-náma-i-Márkús* ("Counsels of Marcus Aurelius"), translated by "Táliboff"

100. *Násikhu't-Tawáríkh* ("the Abrogator of Histories"), an immense general history, carried down to about A D 1857, by Mírzá Taqí, poetically named *Sipihr*, and entitled *Lisánu'l-Mulk* ("the Tongue of the Kingdom").

101. *Baráhínu'l-'Ajam* ("Proofs of the Persians"), on Literature and Prosody, by the same.

102. *Le Médecin malgré lui*, translated from the French of Molière.

103. *Le Misanthrope* translated into verse from the French of Molière.

104. *L'Âne*, translated from the French of Molière.

105. *Mir'átu'l-'Álam* ("Mirror of the World"), a work on Geography, by *'Imádu's-Saltana*

106. Násiru'd-Dín Sháh's Journals of his Travels in Europe, in 3 volumes

107. Muzaffaru'd-Dín Sháh's Journals of his Travels in Europe, in 4 volumes

108. *History of Nádir Sháh*, translated from the English by Abu'l-Qásim Khán *Násiru'l-Mulk* (the present Regent).

109. *Ittiḥádu'l-Islám* ("the Union of Islám"), by Ḥájji Shaykhu'r-Ra'ís

110. *Tracts*, by Malkom Khán

111. *Usúl-i-Maz-hab-i-Díwániyán* ("Principles of the Courtiers' Way"), by Malkom Khán

112. Literary compositions (*Munshá'át*) of the Amír Nizám, edited by Hasan 'Alí Khán of Garrús

113. *Baththu'sh-Shakwá* ("the Preferring of our Plaint"), translated by Mírzá 'Alí *Thiqatu'l-Islám* of Tabríz

114. "The Adventures of a Frigate," translated by *Ẓiyá'u'l-'Ulamá* of Tabríz

115. "History of the Awakening of the Persians" (the Introduction and Vols I and II have thus far been published), by *Náẓimu'l-Islám* of Kirmán

116. "The Magician's Secret," translated by Mahdí Khán *Mukarramu'd-Dawla*, son of Ḥájji Mírzá Rafí' *Niẓámu'l-'Ulamá*.

117. *Bustánu's-Siyáhat* ("Garden of Travel"), by Ḥájj Zaynu'l-'Ábidín of Shírwán

118. *Ta'ríkh-i-Guzída* ("the Select History," a contemporary homonym of the well-known fourteenth-century work of that name, with which it must not be confounded), by Firídún Malkom, the son of Prince Malkom Khán *Náẓimu'd-Dawla*.

119. An illustrated translation of Stanley's Travels in Central Africa, the illustrations by *Kamálu'l-Mulk*

120. *Áthárú'l-'Ajam* ("Monuments of the Persians"),

magazine containing some information about the ancient monuments of Persia, as well as about Persian literature and poetry.

121. *Pírúz nigárish-i-Pársí*, an Epistolary Manual containing letters of all sorts composed in pure Persian, by Mírzá Rizá Khán Bigishlú of Qazwín, Chargé d'Affaires and Councillor of the Persian Embassy at Constantinople

122. *Alif-bá-yi-Bihrúzí*, on the reform of the Persian Alphabet, by the same writer as the last, also written in pure Persian.

123 *Zád u búm* ("Native Land"), on the historical and actual Geography of Persia, by Mírzá Muhammad 'Alí Khán "Tarbiyat," the Author of this treatise

124. *Náma-i-Khusrawán* ("the Book of Princes"), in 3 vols., a History of Ancient Persia, written in pure Persian, by Jalálu'd-Dín Mírzá, son of Fath-'Alí Sháh

125 *Haqíqatu'l-'Álam* ("the Truth of the World"), by the above

126 *'Anásiru'l-Ahadíth* ("Elements of Events"), on the Science of the new Natural Philosophy, with something about Magic, by Mírzá Hasan Jawzá

127 *Búsa-i-'Azrá* ("the Virgin's Kiss"), translated

128 *Ghará'ib-i-'Awá'id-i-Milal* ("Strange Customs of diverse Peoples"), by Mírzá Habíb of Isfahán

129. *Dastur-i-Sukhan* ("Model of Speech"), on Persian and Arabic Grammar, by the above

130 *Dabistán-i-Pársí* ("the Persian School"), on Persian Accidence and Syntax, by the above.

131. "History of Wilhelm," a history of the last epoch in Germany, translated

132. *Shams-i-Táli'* ("the Rising Sun"), on the condition and recent developments of Japan, and its war with Russia, by Mátá'ús Khán

133 Treatise on Astronomy, by Mírzá Mahmúd Khán *Mushdawru'l-Mulk.*

134 Geography

135. Biography of the Amír 'Abdu'r-Rahmán Khán of Afghánistán

136. History of the Afgháns, by *I'tiqádu's-Salṭana*, Minister of Sciences.

137. History of Napoleon the Great, translated by the above.

138. Jules Verne's *Round the World in eighty days*, translated by *Zaká'u'l-Mulk*

139. Jules Verne's *Captain Hatteras*, translated by the same.

140. *Kulba-i-Hindí*, translated from Bernardin de Saint-Pierre's *La Chaumière Indienne* by the same.

141. *'Ishq u 'Iffat*, translated from Bernardin de Saint-Pierre's "Love and Virtue" by the same

142. *Jám-i-Jam* ("the World-revealing Goblet of Jamshíd"), an account of travels in India, by Sayyid 'Alí Khán *Wiqáru'l-Mulk*

143 "Conversations of an Indian traveller," a political work, published by the *Hablu'l-Matín* office

144. *Siyáhat-náma-i-Ibráhím Beg* (3 vols), a clever satire on the methods of the old *régime* in Persia, by Hájji Zaynu'l-'Ábidín of Marágha The first volume has been translated into German under the title of *Reisebuch des Ibrâhîm Beg.*

145 *Salar-náma* ("Book of Princes"), in verse, on the model of the *Sháh-náma* of Firdawsí, by Mírzá Áqá Khán of Kirmán

146 *History of Persia*, by the same

147 *Gil Blas*, translated by Dr Muhammad of Kirmánsháh.

148 *Robinson* [*Crusoe*], translated by Mírzá Muhammad 'Alí Khán of Tabríz, son of Hájji Mírzá 'Abdu'lláh, the physician, of Khúy

149 Collection of Treaties concluded between Persia and other States, by Mírzá Husayn Khán *Mu'tamanu'l-Mulk*, son of Mírzá Nasru'lláh Khán *Mushíru'd-Dawla*

Works by Muḥammad Hasan Khán I'timádu's-Salṭana of Marágha

150 *Hujjatu's-Sa'ádat* ("the Proof of Happiness"), a history of the events in the world in A.H 61 (= A.D 680-1).

151. *History of Persia*, forming an Appendix to the Year-... [illegible]

152. *Mir'átu'l-Buldán* ("Mirror of the Lands"), a Geography of Persia in four volumes Vol. I, published in A.H 1293 (= A.D. 1876), contains a detailed account of the Persian provinces, towns and villages which fall under the first five letters of the alphabet, arranged in alphabetical order On reaching the article *Tihrán* in Vol II (published in A H 1294 = A D 1877) the author gives a complete history of modern Persia during the last century, which history also fills the greater part of Vol. III, published in A H 1295 (= A D 1878) Vol IV, published in A.H 1296 (= A D 1879), continues the geographical Index

153. *Muntazam-i-Násirí*, in 3 volumes, published in A H 1298, 1299 and 1300 (= A D 1881–3), is a Universal History, arranged in the form of Annals, extending from A H I to A H 1300 (= A.D 622–1882)

154. *Matla'u'sh-Shams* ("the Rising of the Sun"), in 3 volumes, published in A H 1301–3 (= A D 1884–6), a detailed history and account of the city of Mashhad

155 *Khayrát*[un] *Hisán*[un], a biography of celebrated women and an anthology of their poems, in 3 volumes, published in A.H 1304–7 (= A D 1887–90)

156 *Al-Ma'áthir wa'l-Athár* ("Monuments and Achievements"), an account of the institutions and achievements of the reign of Násiru'd-Dín Sháh, containing also biographies of contemporary notables, divines and scholars

157 *Duraru't-Tíján* ("Pearls for Crowns"), a historical work

158 A History of the Parthians (*Baní'l-Ashkán*), in 3 volumes, dated A.H 1308–10 (= A D 1891–3).

159. *At Tadwín fí Jibáli Sharwín*, an account of the Mountains of Sharwín, published in A H 1311 (= A D 1893–4).

160. Memoirs of Mademoiselle de Montpensier, a story connected with the history of France, published in A H 1317 (= A D. 1899–1900)

161. A History of the Sásánian Kings of Persia, translated from Rawlinson's well-known work by Mírzá Muhammad Husayn *Zaká'u'l-Mulk*, in two volumes, published in A.H 1314–15 (= A.D. 1896–8).

162. *Náma-i-Dánishwarán* ("the Book of the Learned"),

compiled by a committee of scholars consisting of Mírzá Abu'l-Fazl of Sáwa, Mírzá Hasan of Tálaqán, 'Abdu'l-Wahháb of Qazwín, known as "Mullá Áqá," and Muhammad called al-Mahdí This work, which was not completed, is a detailed Dictionary of Biography of the notable and eminent persons, men of letters, divines, philosophers, mystics, etc., who were most celebrated in Islám, and contains accounts of their biographies, adventures, characteristics and writings Its publication was begun in A H 1296 (= A D 1879) under the supervision of 'Alí-qulí Mírzá *I'tiзádu's-Saltana* On his death in A.H 1298 (= A.D 1881), after the publication of two volumes, the editorial committee made over the supervision to Muhammad Hasan Khán *I'timádu's-Saltana*, so that the last five volumes (III–VII) were published as appendices to the Year Books (*Sál-náma*) of A.H 1318, 1319, 1321, 1322 and 1323 (= A D 1900–5)

Here ends that which, with restricted facilities and defective materials, I have been able to collect in this brief summary, and I hope that the learned may make good its deficiencies and the discerning overlook its short-comings

PART II

Specimens of The Political and Patriotic Poetry of Modern Persia.

Compiled and translated

by

EDWARD G BROWNE

(1)

THE first specimen given below belongs to a much earlier period than the remainder, for it was printed and published in London by Messrs W. H. Allen and Co and R. J. Mitchell and Sons in 1882. It is taken from a *qaṣída* of 366 verses entitled "A London Sunlet" (*Shumaysa-i-Landaniyya*) composed by my old friend and first Persian teacher Mírzá Muhammad Báqir of the district of Bawánát in Fárs, surnamed Ibráhím Ján Mu'aṭṭar. Of this remarkable and eccentric individual I have given some account in the first chapter of my *Year amongst the Persians*, published in 1893 by Messrs A and C Black (pp 12–15), and I have there explained how he compelled me to read with great attention the extraordinary poem of which I subjoin a sample. Reading it again after the lapse of nearly thirty years, I cannot help being very much struck by its clear foreshadowing of the recent Anglo-Russian understanding, which at that time, midway between Plevna and Panj-dih, seemed of all things most improbable. In the rhymed translation which I have added to the original I have endeavoured to preserve as far as possible not only the sense of the latter, but its extraordinary half-prophetic half-punning style, which affords a strange mixture of rhapsody and lampoon, of grim jest and bitter earnest. The poem, which preserves the same rhyme throughout, is divided into two parts between verses 120 and 121, with which last I begin, selecting 29 verses out of the following 90 (*i.e.* between 121 and 211).

(از شمیسهٔ لندنیهٔ میرزا محمّد باقر بواناتی)

گوش! اکه بانگِ ببرِ روس بر آمد ، هوش! اکه گوش از خروشِ کوس کر آمد

[illegible] پیر زن که صوتِ هلهله افزود ، سلسله بیگی که موثِ شیرِ نر آمد

[illegible] یاجاق زیرِ دهسه قزّاق ، قلزمِ زخّارِ آهنین [illegible]



The Poet-Prophet Mirza Muhammad Baqir (seated on left), his son Mirza Isma'il (standing on right), Shaykh Muhammad 'Abduh, afterwards Grand Mufti of Egypt (seated in middle), Haji Pirzada (seated on right), and Jemalu'd-Din Bey (standing on left).

The photograph was taken at Beyrout about 188[illegible]

١٢٤) پشت اندر پشتمه و بر سر همه ماموت، از غم زیست کشت یا دلبر آمد

* * * * * *

١٢٦) چندان لشکر که گر ستاره بدیدی، گفتی زمین دو کمام بی شمر آمد

* * * * * *

١٢٨) از دمِ قطبِ شمال تا پُلِ کابُل، معرضِ گوپال و گرز و پال و پر آمد
١٢٩) چین در ابرو گره ساعد و بازو، بر جبینشان رَخوه سز حتن جگر آمد
١٣٠) ای اسدِ حر و یا حرِ اسدین سر، حرس بگوید خر از اسد بتر آمد
١٣١) ترکِ چرا گوی و راه کوی و صحرا گیر، گرگ و سر و پلنگ م کمر آمد
١٣٢) سگک هیبحت هیچ نام ببرید، شکگِ وحشت بیمکِ سگک در آمد

* * * * * *

١٣٨) های که رایت فرود ای شهِ قفقاس، مردی مردی از آنت این هنر آمد

* * * * * *

١٤٠) هیهات هیهات وعدهای دروغین، آخرمان راست تا دمِ سفر آمد
١٤١) افسوس افسوس لقمه در بُنِ دندان، و آوازِ جِغرِ قسرِ لقمه خور آمد

* * * * * *

١٥٢) منت دادم که شُکْر گوئی و حمدم، شُکْرت بس شُکْر و حمدِ تو ختم آمد
١٥٣) گفتم ما روس چون عروس میآمیز، کاولادِ خرس وارشو بدر آمد
١٥٤) از من گفتی واز تو بس شنفتی، شرزینگ و دینگا گمگر نمر آمد
١٥٥) شربت دادم که پی بری تو سودم، سودم دیدی و ظلمتا ضرر آمد

* * * * * *

۱۰) خرسی پیدا شد از کنارهٔ کوهی، وز دعرش دلیر مرا دعر آمد،
۱۰) از دل و از جان بسوی خرس چمان شد، کابسم محبوب و قرنِ منقر آمد،
۱۰) وه وه زین حسش و حرامش و خوبی، درخوردِ خلق گُنّی نُمَر آمد،
۱۰) من شکرِ هند و یار شیرِ سمرقند، ترکیب این دو شیر در شکر آمد،
۱) شیرِ جنوب این دلیر و خرسِ شمال آن، کیست که با خرس و شیر هم دعر آمد،
۱) این غرب و شرق هر دو زیرِ نگینش، آن‌را خود شرق و غرب در زُکَر آمد،
۱) هرجا خرس است جای وحشت و ترس است، هرجا شیر است لِژ در فِقر آمد،

* * * * * *

۱) انسانیّت ز روی ارض بر اُفتاد، حیوانیّت دو باره مُنتَحَر آمد،

* * * * * *

۱) کبَزوس که؟ که هده عاشق روس است، گاهِ بوس و کنار و بُرّ و بر آمد،

* * * * * *

۲) ای خرس این شیررا بگیر و بیاموز، از آن علمی که خرس‌را هنر آمد،

* * * * * *

۱) ویس خرس و شیررا ببرند سائی، کاینجا هر خرس و شیر چون سُعَر آمد،
۱) چندی در حبس و در قفسشان دارند، تاشان طبع دَرر پی پِرَر آمد،

(*Translation*)

(121) Hark! the blare of Russian trumpets on the Northern breezes comes!
Heed ye! for the ears are deafened with the roar of Russian drums!

(122) Weep and wail! the sounds of turmoil loud and ever louder rise
Shake thy chains and burst thy fetters, for the Lion surely dies!

(123) 'Neath the hosts of savage Cossacks all the boundless Qipcháq Plain
Seems a sea of iron billows, seems a roaring, surging main!

(124) Back to back and breast to breast throughout that spacious Plain they stand,
While an evil seed of severed heads and limbs fulfils the land

* * * *

(126) Boundless, countless is their army, so that if the stars should see,
They would ask, "Of these two armies which may claim infinity?"

* * * *

(128) Even from the Bridge of Kábul to the regions of the Pole,
Clubs and maces, chests and shoulders, in one seething eddy roll

(129) Frowning brows and knotted muscles doth each warrior display,
Little do they care for China, little reck they of Cathay!

(130) Think ye, Lion-Ass, or Ass with Lion's head, that yonder Bear
Doth not know the Ass will better yield to him the Lion's share?

(131) Quit the grounds wherein you hunted turn your steps to house and town,
For the Tiger, Wolf and Leopard forces join to hunt you down!

(132) Call the *Stone* whereon you stumble "*glad*": 'tis but an empty name!
And thy Beauty *Bright* is surely caught within the claws of shame[1]!

* * * *

(138) Hail, thou great Caucasian Monarch! Full success attends thy plan!
Such success is thine by virtue of the strength which makes a man!

* * * *

(140) Welladay! Each lying promise, which, it seemed, would serve so well,
Now hath caught us, and hath brought us even to the gates of Hell!

(141) Welladay! The toothsome morsel still within thy molars lies,
While the sounds of spades which dig the morsel-eater's grave arise

* * * *

(152) Graceless one! I gave thee India, seeking from thee prayer and laud,
But for praying heard but braying, and for laud got naught but bawd!

(153) Did I not command thee, saying, "Mate not with the Russian Bear,
For the Russian parent's offspring is the Russian parent's heir"?

(154) Mine it was to speak, and thine to lend an inattentive ear
Mine to warn thee, thine to scorn me mine to counsel, thine to jeer!

[1] Gladstone and Bright, the prototypes of our modern Russophil Ministers, were, however, at once more magnanimous and more moderate than these, and Gladstone on occasion showed a firmness for which we look in vain in Sir Edward Grey.

(155) I bestowed the East upon thee that thou might'st behold my Light
Thou didst see the Light, and turning didst prefer the mirk of night.

* * * *

(167) Sudden from a mountain fastness doth the grizzly Bear appear,
And my Darling sees it, loves it, swoons away with passion sheer

(168) Heart and soul fulfilled with longing, to the Bear she draweth nigh,
Saying, "This is my beloved, this the Apple of mine Eye!"

(169) See her form so sleek and comely! See the beauty of her gait!
Worthy such a dainty morsel for the jaws which it await!

(170) "I," said she, "am India's sugar, he the milk of Samarqand
"We shall mix like milk and sugar, we shall travel hand in hand!

(171) "I the Lion of the South, and he the valiant Northern Bear
"Who shall venture to oppose us when together forth we fare?"

(172) Subject to the former's sceptre are the realms of West and East
East and West lie in the pouch and pocket of the second Beast

(173) Where the Bear is, there is terror, there are cruelty and fear
Where the Lion is the powers of nerve and muscle disappear

* * * *

(175) From the face of earth all human kindliness hath passed away
Brutish cruelty becomes once more the order of the day.

* * * *

(186) Where is Cyrus, now that India's sick with love for Russia's sake?
Let them kiss and hug each other, ere they share the stolen cake[1]!

* * * *

(204) Come, O Bear, and take this Lion lead her to thy dismal lair,
There to teach her all the arts which make the cunning of the Bear

* * * *

(210) Till at length there cometh one to take them both unto a place
Where like cones they shall shiver, threatened by a stronger race

(211) There shall they be held in bondage in a prison and a cage,
Till unto a milk-like mildness turns their roughness and their rage!

(2)

The second specimen, published in No 4 of the *Súr-i-Isráfíl* ("Trumpet-call of Isráfíl") of June 20, 1907, refers to an event which happened at Qúchán in Khurásan on the Russo-Persian frontier a year or two previously[2], when a number of the inhabitants, including several young girls, were carried off by Turkmáns subject to Russia, with the connivance, it was asserted, of *Áṣafu'd-Dawla* and the governor of Burújird, who was subsequently tried for this offence

[1] "Cyrus" typifies Persia, which, I take it, is also intended by "the stolen cake."
[2] I think in November, 1905 See my *Persian Revolution*, p. 111

This ballad bears the following superscription:

Persian Concert, which the girls of Qúchán, at the request of the Russians and Turkmáns, give in a Café chantant *at Tiflis.*

Girls, in chorus, to the tune of the tasníf (*ballad*)
"Ay Khudá, Laylá yár-i-má níst!"
("*O God, Laylá is not our friend!*")

(١)

بزرگان جملگی مست غرورند، (خدا کسی فکر ما نیست)
ز انصاف و مروّت سخت دورند، (خدا کسی فکر ما نیست)
رعیّت بی سواد و گنگ و کورند، (خدا کسی فکر ما نیست)
هفده و هژده و نوزده و بیست
ای خدا کسی فکر ما نیست،

(٢)

فلك دیدی بما آخر چها کرد، (خدا کسی فکر ما نیست)
ز خویش و اقربا ما را جدا کرد، (خدا کسی فکر ما نیست)
جفا بین که با ما این جفا کرد، (خدا کسی فکر ما نیست)
هفده و هژده و نوزده و بیست
ای خدا کسی فکر ما نیست،

(٣)

گر از کوی وطن مهجور ماندم، (خدا کسی فکر ما نیست)
و گر از هجر او رنجور ماندم، (خدا کسی فکر ما نیست)
نه پنداری ز عشقش دور ماندم، (خدا کسی فکر ما نیست)
هفده و هژده و نوزده و بیست
ای خدا کسی فکر ما نیست،

(٤)

(یك دختر دوازده ساله تنها)

نفس در سینه ساکت شو که گوئی، (خدا کسی فکر ما نیست)
نسیم از کوی ما آورده بوئی، (خدا کسی فکر ما نیست)
چه بوئی دلکش آن هم از چه کوئی، (خدا کسی فکر ما نیست)
هفده و هژده و نوزده و بیست
ای خدا کسی فکر ما نیست،

(٥)

(دخترها هم آواز)

نسیم بوم ما بس جانفزا بود، (خدا کسی فکر ما نیست)
هوایش روح بخش و غم زدا بود، (خدا کسی فکر ما نیست)
ولی دردا که محرش در قفا بود، (خدا کسی فکر ما نیست)
هفده و هژده و نوزده و بیست
ای خدا کسی فکر ما نیست،

(٦)

مگر مردانِ ما را خواب برده، (خدا کسی فکرِ ما نیست)
غیورانِ وطن را آب برده، (خدا کسی فکرِ ما نیست)
که اعتبار آب از احباب برده، (خدا کسی فکرِ ما نیست)
هفده و هژده و نوزده و بیست
ای خدا کسی فکر ما نیست،

(۷)

(دختر دوازده ساله تنها)

که خواهد برد تا مجلس پیامم (خدا کسی فکرِ ما نیست)
که ای دل بردهٔ با داده کامم (خدا کسی فکرِ ما نیست)
چرا شد محو از یادِ تو نامم (خدا کسی فکرِ ما نیست)
هفده و هژده و نوزده و بیست
ای خدا کسی فکر ما نیست

(حعد)

(تماشاچیان بهیئت اجتماع)

هورا هورا هورا! اسلاوا گراسی ورسم دوبت سام پرسی!
اسلاوا آصف الدوله! اسلاوا مینسترست وو پرسی!
یاشاسون ایران گوزل قزلری! یاشاسون آصف الدوله!
یاشاسون ملّت وریرلری!

(*Translation*)

(1)

(*The girls, in chorus*)

*Our nobles all are drunk with pride,
  (*O God, nobody cares for us!*)
From justice and virtue they stand aside, (*O God, etc.*)
Dumb, blind, untaught the people abide, (*O God, etc.*)
  One seven, one eight, one nine, two naught
  No one of us taketh heed or thought!

(2)

"Thou seest how Heaven with us doth pla
(*O God, nobody cares for us!*)
From kith and kin we are torn away, (*O G*
The ill that is wrought us shall ill repay! (*(*
One seven, one eight, etc

(3)

"Though exiled far from our home so dear,
(*O God, nobody cares for us!*)
And plunged by exile in sorrow and fear, (*(*
We love it and dream of it ever here! (*O G*
One seven, one eight etc

(4)

(*A girl of twelve, solo*)

"Pause, O breath in my breast meseems
(*O God, nobody cares for us!*)
That the breeze with the scents of the h
(*O God, etc*)
What delicate scent from what land of drear
One seven, one eight, etc

(5)

(*The girls, in chorus*)

"Sweet doth the breeze from the home-land
(*O God, nobody cares for us!*)
Life doth it give and grief dispel! (*O God, e*
But alas, for of exile it speaks as well! (*O (*
One seven, one eight, etc

(6)

"Sleep hath o'ercome our men I ween,
(*O God, nobody cares for us!*)
And blunted our townsmen's honour keen, (*(*
And our friends dishonoured by foes have be
One seven, one eight, etc

(7)

(*The girl of twelve, solo*)

"Who to the *Majlis* a message will bear
(*O God, nobody cares for us!*)
Of heart's surrender and hope's despair?
(*O God, nobody cares for us!*)
Is our name remembered no longer there?
(*O God, nobody cares for us!*)
One seven, one eight, one nine, two naught
No one of us taketh heed or thought!"

The spectators in unison

"*Hurrah, hurrah, hurrah!*

Slava gratziozním dyevitsám Persii! *Yáshásún Írán'ín gyuzel qızları!*
Slava Ásafu'd-Dawla! *Yashásun Ásafu'd-Dawla!*
Slava Ministyerstvú Persii!" *Yáshasún millet vezirleri!*

(In Russian and Turkish)

'Long live the pretty girls of Persia! Long live Ásafu'd-Dawla!
Long live the Persian Ministry!"

(3)

The following poem, like the last, is taken from the *Súr Isráfíl* for November 20, 1907 The "Kablá'í" to whom it addressed is taken by some to refer to the poet himself, but by others to the ex-Shah, Muhammad 'Alí, who was at that time the ruler of Persia The word "*Kablá'í*" or "*Kablay*" is a popular abbreviation of *Karbalá'í*, a title given to those who have visited the holy tombs of Karbalá in Turkish Arabia, just as one who has visited Mashhad is entitled "*Mashhadí*," and one who has performed the pilgrimage to Mecca, "Hájjí" The two former titles, however, are seldom used except by muleteers, trades people, and others of humble condition, and "*Kablá'í*" especially has come to be used colloquially in a somewhat familiar or even contemptuous way, as though we should call a man whose name was unknown to us "Johnnie" The original poem is slang

and this feature I have endeavoured to preserve in the translation, which is somewhat freer than the preceding ones.

(۱)

مردود خدا راندهٔ هر بنده آکلای ، از دلقک معروف نماینده آکلای
با شوخی و با مسخره و خنده آکلای ، سر مرده گذشتی و نه از زنده آکلای
هستی تو چه یکپهلو و یک دنده آکلای

(۲)

نه بیم ز کُتنس و نه جن گیر و نه رمّال ، نه خوف ز درویش و نه از جده نه از حال
نه ترس ز تکفیر و نه از پستو شمشال ، مشکل سری گور سر زنده آکلای
هستی تو چه یکپهلو و یک دنده آکلای

(۳)

صد بار نگفتم که خیال تو محالست ، تا نیمی ازین طائفه محبوس جوالست
ظاهر شود اسلام درین قوم خیالست ، هی بار بزن حرف پراگنده آکلای
هستی تو چه یکپهلو و یک دنده آکلای

(٤)

گاهی به پر و پاچهٔ درویش پریدی ، گه پردهٔ ز کاغذلوق آخوند دریدی
ایرانیان را همه در صور دمیدی ، رُو در پاپسی یعنی چه؟ پوست کنده آکلای
هستی تو چه یکپهلو و یک دنده آکلای

(٥)

از گرسنگی مرد رعیّت بجهنّم ، ور نیست درین قوم معیّت بجهنّم ،
تریاك بزید عرقِ حمیّت بجهنّم ، خوش باش تو با مطرب و سازنده آ کبلای ،
هستی تو چه یکپهلو و یك دنده آ کبلای ،

(٦)

تو منتظری رشوه در ایران رود از یاد ، آخوند ز قانون و ز عدلیّه شود شاد ،
اسلام ز رمّال و ز مرشد شود آزاد ، یك دفعه بگو مرده شود زنده آ کبلای ،
هستی تو چه یکپهلو و یك دنده آ کبلای ،

(*Translation*)

(1)

"Rejected by men and by God the Forgiving, O Kabláy!
You're a wonderful sample of riotous living, O Kabláy!
You're a wag, you're a joker, no end to your fun,
Of living and dead you are sparing of none,
Such a limb of the Devil and son of a gun, O Kabláy!

(2)

"Neither wizard, diviner nor warlock you fear, O Kablay!
Nor the dervish's prayer nor the dreams of the Seer, O Kabláy!
Nor Shapshál's[1] revolver, nor *mujtahid*'s rage
'Tis hard to believe you will die of old age,
You limb of the Devil and son of a gun, O Kabláy!

(3)

"Times a hundred I've told you your project will fail, O Kabláy!
While half of the nation are wrapped in a veil[2], O Kabláy!
Can Islám in you and your circle prevail?
With fresh words of folly your friends you'll regale,
You limb of the Devil and son of a gun, O Kabláy!

[1] Concerning Shapshál Khan, the Russian *agent provocateur*, see my *Persian Revolution*, pp 105, 130, 170-1, 198-202, 207, 279, 324 and 418-420.

[2] *i e* the women.

(4)

"At the heels of the dervish you bark and you bite, O Kabláy!
Break the Dominie's windows[1] and let in the light, O Kabláy!
While this trumpet[2] of yours doth all secrets proclaim;
Yes, blazon them forth, for what know you of shame?
You limb of the Devil and son of a gun, O Kabláy!

(5)

"To hell with the folk, if with hunger they pine, O Kabláy!
Devil take them, the brutes, since they cannot combine, O Kabláy!
Since opium hath stolen their courage away,
With your minstrels and singers be merry and gay,
You limb of the Devil and son of a gun, O Kabláy!

(6)

"In Persia will bribes ever go out of fashion, O Kabláy?
Will the *mullás* for justice develop a passion, O, Kabláy?
From magic and *murshids*[3] can Islám win free?
Bid the dead come to life, for 'twill easier be,
You limb of the Devil and son of a gun, O Kabláy!"

(4)

The following poem, by Ashraf of Gílán, is of a much more classical type than the last, and is what is called a *mustazád*. It appeared in No 9 of the *Nasím-i-Shimál* ("Breeze of the North"), published at Rasht on January 2, 1908. Part of it only is translated as a specimen

[1] The Turkish word *kághizluq* means a window covered with paper instead of glass

[2] This is an allusion to the paper *Şur i-Isráfíl* or "Trumpet of Isráfíl," in which this poem appeared.

[3] Spiritual guides.

20



The Poet Sayyid Ashrafu'd-Din of Gilan

۱ گردید وطن غرقهٔ اندوه و محن وای ‏ ایوای وطن وای
خیزید روید از پی تابوت و کفن وای ‏ ایوای وطن وای
۲ از خون جوانان که شده کُشته درین راه ‏ رنگین شفق ماه
خونین شده صحرا و تل و دشت و دمن وای ‏ ایوای وطن وای
۳ کو همّت و کو غیرت و کو جوش فتوّت ‏ کو حسّ ملّت
دردا که رسید از دو طرف سیل فتن وای ‏ ایوای وطن وای
٤ افسوس که اسلام شده از همه جانب ‏ پامال اجانب
مشروطهٔ ایران شده تاریخ زمن وای ‏ ایوای وطن وای
۵ تنها نه همین گشت وطن ضایع و بدنام ‏ کمنام شد اسلام
پژمرده شد این باغ و گل و سرو و سمن وای ‏ ایوای وطن وای
٦ بلبل نبرد نام گُل از واهمه هرگز ‏ نرگس شده قرمز
سُرخند ازین غُصّه سپیدان چمن وای ‏ ایوای وطن وای
۷ بعضی وزرا مسلکشان راهزنی شد ‏ سرّی علنی شد
گشته علما غرقه درین لای و لجن وای ‏ ایوای وطن وای
۸ سوزد جگر از ماتم خلخال خدایا ‏ محشر شده آیا
یک جامه ندارند رعیّت بدن وای ‏ ایوای وطن وای
۹ گاهی خبر آرند که سرعسکر رومی ‏ آمد با اُرومی
گه آستره ویران شده از شاهسون وای ‏ ایوای وطن وای
۱۰ افسوس ازین خاک گهرخیز گهرزا ! ‏ گردید مجزّا
از چار طرف خاک نه از مشک ختن وای ‏ ایوای وطن وای
۱۱ کو بلخ و بخارا و چه شد خیوه و کابل ‏ کو بابل و زابل
شام و حلب و ارمن و عمّان و عدن وای ‏ ایوای وطن وای

١٢ بر منظرهٔ قصر زر اندود و مطرّا	جغد است صف آرا
نشسته درین بوم و دمن زاغ و زغن وای	ایوای وطن وای
١٣ یك ذرّه ز ارباب ندیده‌است معیّت	بیچاره رعیّت
کارش همه فریاد/حسین وای حسن وای	ایوای وطن وای
١٤ اشرف سحر از لالهٔ غم هیچ نوید	هر لحظه بگوید
ایوای وطن وای وطن وای وطن وای	ایوای وطن وای

(فقیر)

(Translation)

1 Our country is flooded with sorrow and woe,	O, for our land woe!
Arise, and for coffin and cerements go!	O, for our land woe!
2 With the blood of our sons for the fatherland shed	The moon shines red,
Hill, plain and garden blood-red glow	O, for our land woe!
3 Where are zeal and courage and strife,	A Nation's life?
The floods of trouble around us flow!	O, for our land woe!
4 Foreigners trample on every side	On Islám's pride,
Of our Freedom naught but the name they know	O, for our land woe!
5 Not only our land is lost and mis-named,	Our faith's defamed
E'en the flowers in the garden stunted grow	O, for our land woe!
6 The nightingale dares not to sing of the rose	Red the daffodil grows,
And red the lily-white flowrets blow,	O, for our land woe!
7 Some of our statesmen are brigands sheer,	No mystery here!
And the priests to follow them are not slow	O, for our land woe!

8 For Khalkhál's sake are our hearts in gloom — 'tis the Day of Doom!
Not even a shirt hath the peasant to show — O, for our land woe!
9 To Urmi the Turkish commander, we hear, — Swift draws near,
While at Astara Shahsevens strike a blow! — O, for our land woe!
10 Alas for our pearl-bearing, pearl-raising land — Partition is planned,
Though its dust be more fragrant than musk, I trow, — O, for our land woe!

* * * *

(5)

The following poem, also by Ashraf, and also published in the *Nasím-i-Shimál* (No 10, dated January 20, 1908) is similar to the last, and is also a *mustazád* The allusions in verse 5 are to some of the chief newspapers published at that time, and those in verses 9 to 12 to events connected with what I have called "the abortive *Coup d'Etat*" of December 1907 (See my *Persian Revolution*, pp 162 *et seqq*) The pessimistic strain which characterizes the last poem is also apparent in this

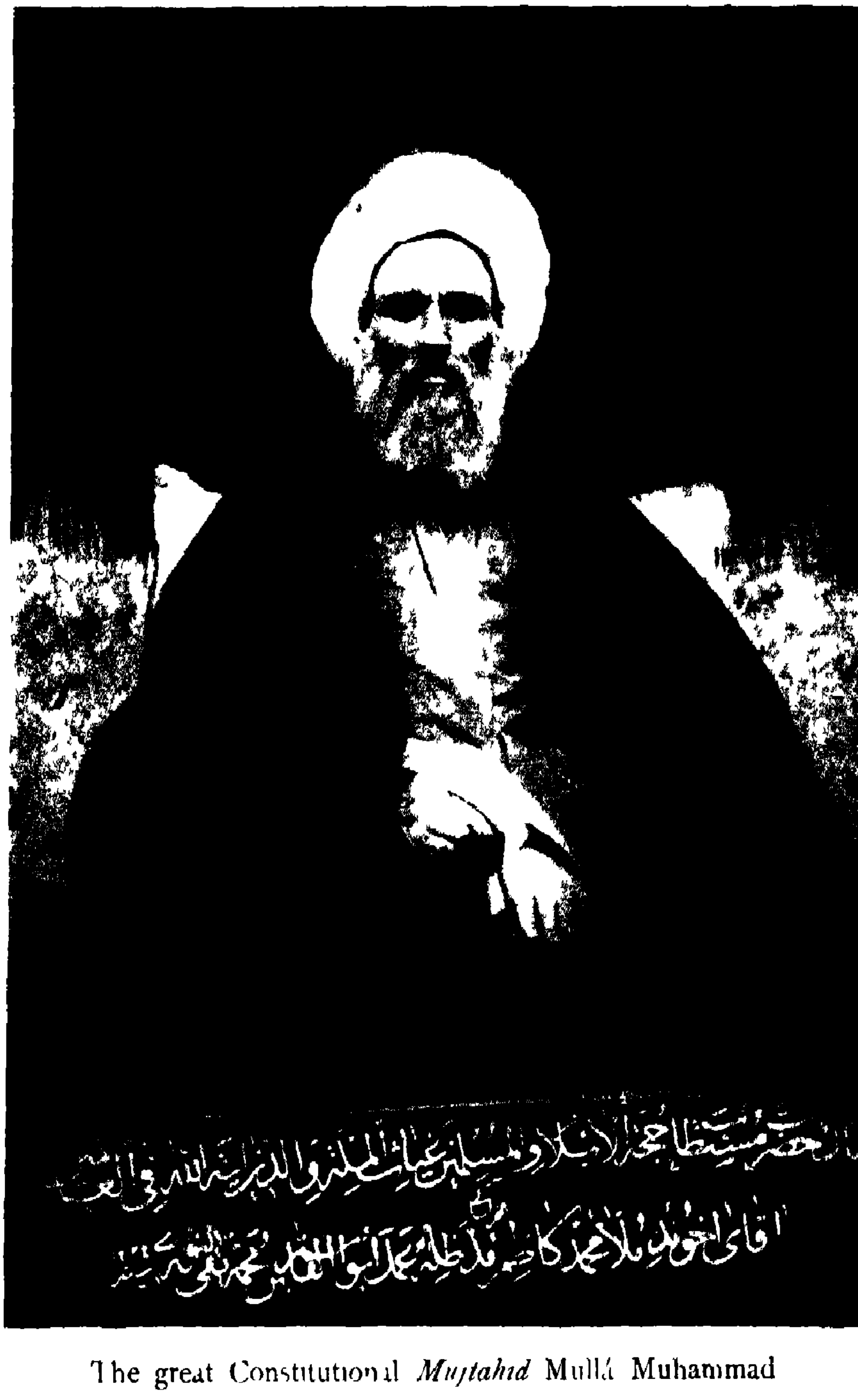
۱ دوش می گفت این سخن دیوانهٔ بی بار و خواست — دردِ ایران بیدواست
عاقلی گفتا که از دیوانه بشنو حرفِ راست — دردِ ایران بیدواست
۲ مملکت از چار سو در حالِ خراب و خطر — چون مریضِ محتضر
با چنین دستور این رنجور مهجور از شفاست — دردِ ایران بیدواست
۳ پادشه سر ضدِّ ملّت ملّت اندر ضدّ شاه — زین مصیبت آه آه
چون حقیقت بنگری هم این خطا هم آن خطاست — دردِ ایران بیدواست
٤ هر کسی با هر کسی خصم است و بدخواه است و ضدّ — گوید اورا مستبدّ
با چنین شکل ای بسا خونها هدر جانها هباست — دردِ ایران بیدواست

صور اسرافیل زد صبحِ سعادت در دمید ملّا نصر الدّین رسید
ملّی و حبل المتین سوی عدالت رهنماست دردِ ایران بیدواست
۶ با وجودِ این جراید خفتهٔ بیدار نیست یك رگی هشیار نیست
این جراید همچو شیپور و دهیر و کرّناست دردِ ایران بیدواست
۷ شکر می کردیم جمعی کارها مضبوطه شد مملکت مشروطه شد
باری بینیم آن کاسه است وآن آش است و ماست دردِ ایران بیدواست
۸ با خرد گفتم که آخر چارهٔ این کار چیست عقل قاطع هم گریست
بعد آه و ناله گفتا چاره در دستِ خداست دردِ ایران بیدواست
۹ شیخ فضل الله یك سو "آملی" از یك طرف[1] بهرِ ملّت بسته صف
چار سمتِ توپخانه خرگاه شیخ ماست دردِ ایران بیدواست
۱۰ هیچ دانی قصدِ قاطرچی درین هنگامه چیست یاری اسلام نیست
قصدِ او ساعت است و کیف و زنجیر طلاست دردِ ایران بیدواست
۱۱ مسجدِ مَرْوی پر از اشرارِ غارتگر شده مدرسه سنگر شده
روحِ واقف در بهشت ازین مصیبت در عزاست دردِ ایران بیدواست
۱۲ تو پنداری قتلِ دستهٔ قاطرچیان خوشان رفت از میان
وعده‌گاهِ انتقامِ اشقیا روزِ جزاست دردِ ایران بیدواست
۱۳ اشرفا هرکس درین مشروطه جانبازی نمود رفعت و قدرش فزود
در جزا استبرقِ جنّاتِ عدنش متّکاست[2] دردِ ایران بیدواست

(فقیر)

[1] Concerning Shaykh Fazlu'lláh of Núr, see my *Persian Revolution*, pp. [illegible] 148–9, 242, 262, and 444–5. By "*Ámulí*" is meant Mullá Muhammad of [illegible] *pishnamáz* of the Masjid-i-Marwí, another noted reactionary priest.

[2] *Cf.* Qur'án, xviii 30, lv 54.



The great Constitutional *Mujtahid* Mullá Muhammad Kázim al-Khurásání in A.H. 1324 (A.D. 1906)

«امروز نگهبان خلایق علما اند»

(6) ✓

The following poem is from the same paper (No. 11, January 31, 1908) as the two last, and is, I think, also by Ashraf, since it bears the signature *Faqír*, which he elsewhere uses. He appeals to the *'ulamá* (or so-called "clergy"), the Deputies and the Sháh (Muhammad 'Alí) to observe the Constitution, enforce the law, and guard the country from the designs of foreign foes, "the Turk, the Two-headed Bird (*i.e.* eagle), the Bear and the Old Dog," and the Shí'ite faith from its Sunní adversaries.

امروز چو ما هیچ کس انگشت نما نیست　　زیرا که کسی جاهل و بیعلم چو ما نیست
در علم و صنایع همگی عاجز و لنگیم　　در مغلطه و فتنه و آشوب زرنگیم
بر جانِ هم افتاده شب و روز بجنگیم　　شرمی ز کلام الله و ترسی ز خدا نیست

اینک کلماتِ عُلَمَا نصِّ صریح است　　بر اینکه بنزدِ عُلَمَا ظلم قبیح است
مشروطه چو در عقل و چو در شرع صحیح است　　هر کس کند انکار ز جمع عقلا نیست

افسوس که از ناله و فریاد اثر رفت　　هم زحمتِ اربابِ جراید بهدر رفت
مشروطه درین ملك بجوشید و ز سر رفت　　چون صحبتِ این دوره بجز از من و ما نیست

زود ای عُلَمَا مرکبِ مشروطه برانید　　دادِ دلِ مظلوم ز ظالم بستانید
هان ای وُکَلَا قدرِ چنین روز بدانید　　زیرا کسی امروز باعزازِ شما نیست

مشروطه درختیست پُر از میوه و اثمار　　عدلیّه و انصاف و مساوات ورا بار
قانونِ اساسی است درو ناظرِ هر کار　　فرقی بمیانِ غنی و شاه و گدا نیست

امروز نگهبانِ خلایق عُلَمَا اند　　بعد از عُلَمَا حافظِ ملّت وُکَلَا اند
مسؤول بهر جزئی و کلّی وزرا اند　　در صحبتِ مشروطه دگر چون و چرا نیست

امسال دو سالست که مشروطه شد ایران   پر شد در و دیوار ز شمامه و اعلان
کو مجری قانون وچه شد همّتِ مردان؟   افسوس که ما را هوسِ صلح و صفا نیست

هر عقل که در ماسیِ افسونگر و قالست   هر معرکه از ترسِ نکیرست و خیالست
هر ملك که علمش همگی قال و مقالست   قانون نچیبن مملکتی راهنما نیست

احوالِ ارومیه اگر مرده شنیدی   در قبر ز عبرت کفنِ خویش دریدی
از دیدهٔ ارواح همه خون بچکیدی   در خلد نجز زمزمهٔ وا وطنا نیست

از چار طرف سیلِ بلا گشته سرازیر   عثمانی و مرغ دو سر و خرس و سگ پیر
شاها مگر از مملکتِ خود شدهٔ سیر؟   بی قیدی و اهمال بدین پایه سزا نیست

ای خسرو مشروطه‌طلب شاه دل‌آگاه   مپسند که از لطمهٔ عثمانی بد خواه
منسوخ شود لفظِ عَلِیًّا ولِیُّ اللّٰه   شاها بخدا صبر ازین بیش روا نیست!

(فقیر)

(7) ۷

The following poem is also by Ashraf, but it is placed in the mouth of an imaginary reactionary, grotesquely named (as Morier named his characters "Mullá Nádán," "Mírzá Ahmaq," etc) "Kharáb-'Alí Mirzá," who is supposed to reproach Ashraf for his enthusiasm for the Constitution I have appended a prose rendering

اشرف ازین بیش جسارت مکن،   در سرِ مشروطه لجاجت مکن،
با همهٔ خلق مشو خصم و ضدّ،   می نشوم با احدی متّحد،
مستبدم مستبدم مستبد،   هیچ بمشروطه تو دعوت مکن،
مطربکا خیز بزن چنگ و رود،   ساقیکا باده بده زود زود،
دولتت اگر رفت بغم زبود،   صحبت عثمانی و دولت مکن،

میخورم از خون رعیت شراب، میکنم از گوشتِ رعیت کباب،
هیچ نترسم ز عذاب و عقاب، وعده فردای قیامت مکن،
تکیه بر اقوالِ فرنگان مزن، دم ز مکاتیب دبستان مزن،
طعنه تو بر کهنه پرستان مزن، ذوق ز بیداری ملت مکن،
من چه کنم خصم شده تر دماغ، رخنه نموده است درین باغ و راغ،
زیر و زبر شد همه ساوجبلاغ، گریه بر احوال رعیت مکن،
رفت ارومیه خراسان بس است، آن هم اگر رفت صفاهان بس است،
هیچ نباشد خود طهران بس است، اشرف ازین بیش شرارت مکن،

(امضا خرابعلی میرزا)

(*Prose Translation*)

"O Ashraf, be no longer over-bold! Be not so insistent about the Constitution!

I am an adversary and enemy to all the people, I will not unite with any one,

I am a Reactionary, a Reactionary, a Reactionary! Do not thou preach Constitutionalism!

O little minstrel, arise, strike the harp and the lute! O little cup-bearer, give wine quickly!

If the Empire is lost, to Hell with it! Prate not of the Turk and the Empire!

I drink for wine the blood of the people, I eat for roast meat the flesh of the people

I have no fear of torment and retribution, do not put me off with threats of to-morrow's Resurrection!

Put not thy trust in the words of the Franks, talk not of the maxims of the schools,

Do not find fault with such as love the ancient ways, do not exult in the awakening of the Nation!

What can I do? the enemy is sharp-witted? He has broken into this garden and meadow

All Sáwujbulágh is topsy-turvy Weep not over the people's condition!
If Urúmiyya is gone, Khurásán is enough, if that too goes, Isfahán is enough,
If naught else be left, Tihrán itself is enough! O Ashraf, work no further mischief!"

(8)

Dakhaw, to whom the following poem (published in the *Nasím-i-Shimál* of March 5, 1908) is ascribed, is best known for his contributions to the *Súr-i-Isráfíl*, and especially for the weekly column entitled *Charand parand* ("Charivari") His real name was 'Alí Akbar, and his *nom de guerre*, "*Dakhaw*," is a local form (used at Qazwín, his native town) of *Dih-khudá* ("the villager," "rustic" or "squireen")

مکتوب قزوین

۱ بعرش می رسد امروز الامانِ دخوْ ، سوخت از غمِ مشروطه استخوانِ دخو
۲ درین ولایتِ قزوین ز ظلمِ استبداد ، ز یاد رفت بیکبار خانمانِ دخو
۳ چو گشت نیّرِ مشروطه طالع از ایران ، بگشت روشن از اشراقِ او روانِ دخو
۴ طلوع کرد چو خورشید (کُشتی تو سیبون) ، همیشه صحبتِ او بود بر زبانِ دخو
۵ بریده باد زبانم کنون که می شنوم ، خلل فتاده بارکانِ پارلمانِ دخو
۶ نهاده پای نحاسِ سفیرِ استبداد ، وزیده بادِ خزانی به بوستانِ دخو
۷ میانهٔ وُکَلا اجنبی نهاده قدم ، شکسته نسرین و سرو و ارغوانِ دخو
۸ خدا نکرده اگر پارلمان خلل یابد ، رسد اهلِ غرض شعله‌ها بجانِ دخو
۹ مگسد آتشِ ظلم و عنادِ و استبداد ، امام جمعهٔ قزوین بدودمانِ دخو
۱۰ ز ظلم و کینهٔ این مستبدّ میش نما ، بسنگ کرده اثر ناله و فغانِ دخو

۱۱ یکی ز حلقه بگوشانِ اشرف الدّیم ،
اگر که درج شود شعرِ خومشانِ دخو ،

(*Prose Translation*)

(1) "To-day the appeal of Dakhaw ascends to the Throne of God, with grief for the Constitution the bones of Dakhaw are burned

(2) In this land of Qazwín, through the tyranny of Despotism, the household of Dakhaw is utterly forgotten

(3) When the luminary of the Constitution arose from Persia the spirit of Dakhaw was illuminated by its dawning

(4) When the Sun of the Constitution arose talk of it was ever on Dakhaw's tongue

(5) May my tongue be cut out now that I hear that harm befalls the pillars of the Parliament!

(6) The ambassador of Autocracy hath set his foot in the *Majlis*, an autumnal blast hath blown over Dakhaw's garden

(7) The foreigner hath stepped into the midst of the Deputies, Dakhaw's gelder rose and cypress and Judas-tree are broken!

(8) If (which God forbid!) the Parliament suffers hurt, Dakhaw's enemies will set fire to his soul

(9) The *Imám-Jum'a* (Chief Priest) of Qazwín hath cast the fire of tyranny malice and despotism on the family of Dakhaw

(10) On account of the tyranny and spite of this autocrat in sheep's clothing the wailing and lamentations of Dakhaw affect the very stones

(11) I will become one of the humble servants of Ashrafu'd-Dín if this piteous poem of Dakhaw's should be inserted [in his paper]"

(9)

The following poem, which, like No 7, is cast in the form of a letter of remonstrance emanating from an imaginary reactionary, is also by Ashraf, and appeared in No 16 of the second year of the *Nasím-i-Shimál* on April 14, 1908

(مکتوب)

[illegible] ناله و فریاد چیست ، از برای خلق آه و داد چیست ،

[illegible] گر کشیتی تو چینی ، یکشنی یا ده می یا بیستی

[illegible] که این شهر و وطن را آب برد ، تو یقین می دان که مارا خواب برد

[illegible] چیست این هنگامه چیست ، فکرِ کاری کن که صنعت قحط نیست

[illegible] وابور بهرِ ما باید بکار ، با پروس و آلمان مارا چه کار ،

[illegible] ساطع شد چه شد ، آفتابِ علم طالع شد چه شد ،

[illegible] ترغیب و تحریصِ شدید ، کودکان را بر مکاتیبِ جدید ،

[illegible] بخواهی بهر شهر و دیار ، یک معلّم خانه سازی استوار ،

[illegible] از طفلی که بر مکتب رود ، طفل باید کوچه بر کوچه رود ،

[illegible] باید بادنان سازی کند ، طفل باید شیر و خط بازی کند ،

[illegible] باید پای ملا بشکند ، روز و شب با سنگ سرها بشکند ،

[illegible] باید پهلوانِ سنگ زن ، بدتر از گربه صورت چنگ زن ،

[illegible] این اطفال را جون شب مکن ، نامِ زندان خانه را مکتب مکن ،

[illegible] زیر خاک بگذاریدمان ، انگلیسی نیست مارا ترجمان ،

[illegible] ما همان قرآن بس است ، پای تخت شاه را طهران بس است ،

[illegible] آور شده سیلِ بلا ، غم محور چون اَلبَلاءُ لِلوِلا ،

[illegible] در این دنیا ذلیلم ای عمو ، لیک در محشر جلیلم ای عمو

[illegible] بر گردن ما چلک مزن ، روی بام شیخنا تنبک مزن

[illegible] بر صنعت مکن ، از علومِ خارجه صحبت مکن

۲۰ لرزیم آخر بشکند پا و دست

فال بین و مرشد و ماهی پرست



Amenities of Muslim family life
(From *Mulla Nasr ud Din* No 20 June 1, 1907)

(Prose Translation)

(1) "O Ashraf, what is this outcry and lamentation? What is this sighing and crying for the people?

(2) Speak out plainly who and what are you? Are you [a man of] one maund, or ten maunds, or twenty?

(3) Even if the flood carries away this city and land, know for a surety that sleep overpowers us

(4) What is the newspaper? What is this disturbance? Think of some action, for there is no dearth of talents.

(5) Russia and Japan are nothing to us! What have we to do with Prussia and Germany?

(6) If the luminary of the Constitution hath shone forth, what is that [to us]? If the Sun of Knowledge hath arisen, what is that [to us]?

(7) You vehemently urge and incite the children to [attend] the new schools,

(8) Then you desire in every town and district to establish a teachers' college

(9) Alas for the child who goes to school! A child should run about the streets

(10) A child should make kites a child should play pitch and toss·

(11) A child should break the *mullá's* ankles a child should break [people's] heads with stones

(12) A child should be an adept at stone-throwing. a child should be worse than a cat at face-scratching.

(13) Do not make these children's days more gloomy than nights! Do not call a prison a school!

(14) When they consign us to the earth, English will not serve to interpret our thoughts* !

(15) This *Qur'án* is sufficient for us Tihrán is sufficient for the Sháh's capital!

(16) If the floods of misfortune attack us, grieve not, for misfortune is love's portion!'

* This refers to the "Questioning of the Tomb," when the angels Munkir and Nakir come to the dead man and examine him as to his faith. Naturally he will be expected to reply to them in Arabic, or some other Musulmán language.

(17) If I am abased in this world, O uncle, you [illegible] glorified in the Resurrection, O uncle!

(18) Smite us not on the neck with thy pen! Beat not the drum on the roof of our Shaykh!

(19) O Ashraf, do not urge us to [cultivate] Art! Do not talk to us about foreign sciences!

(20) I fear that in the end the sooth-sayer, the spiritual director and the admirer of ancient fashions will break your feet and hands!"

(10)

The following poem is another of those abounding with slang. It appeared in No 18 of the *Nasím-i-Shimál*, dated May 11, 1908.

تا کلّهٔ شیخنا ملنگ است، تا در دلِ ما عار و زنگ است،
تا پیرِ دلیل مست و بنگ است، تا رشته بدستِ این دبنگ است،
این قافله تا بحشر لنگ است،

تا مصدرِ کار مستبدّ است، تا دل سماق مستعدّ است،
تا ملّتِ ما بشاه ضدّ است، تا شاه بخائنین ممدّ است،
جان کندن و سعی ما جفنگ است،
این قافله تا بحشر لنگ است،

گفتیم قلم شده است آزاد، ایران خرابه گشته آباد،
مشروطه قوی نموده بنیاد، بس مدرسه‌ها شدست ایجاد،
افسوس که شیشه‌مان بسنگ است،
این قافله تا بحشر لنگ است،

مشروطه نشانهٔ ترقّی است، مجلس هم خانهٔ ترقّی است،
این شعله زبانهٔ ترقّی است، این شعر ترانهٔ ترقّی است،
اسلام چرا دوچارِ ننگ است،
این قافله تا بحشر لنگ است،



دستورالعمل دادن سید محمد یزدی بجماعت اجنه که مشروطه طلبان را طعمه رسانند

Sayyid Muhammad Yazdi teaching the *Jinns* how to overthrow the Constitution

(From the illustrated comic weekly *Azarbayjan*, No 17, Oct 11, 1907)

خر صاحب اختیار گشته، سگ صدر شکار و بار گشته،
روبه عظمت مدار گشته، شغال عریضه‌دار گشته،
شمات و تملق عرصه تنگ است،
این قافله تا بحشر لنگ است،

من بعد شود جهان گلستان، در صحن سرا و باغ و بستان،
مشروطه شود هزار دستان، شاعر سمرار همچو مستان،
تیرش ز نشاط بر خدنگ است،
این قافله تا بحشر لنگ است،

The following rhymed translation of the first, second, third and fifth stanzas of the above poem may suffice to give some idea of its structure and the arrangements of the rhymes

(*Translation*)

(1)

While addled in our reverend master's pate,
And dust and rust our spirits obfuscate,
And drunk and dizzy's he who guides our fate,
And this old humbug still directs our gait
    Needs must our caravan be lame and late!

(2)

Vainly our lives to hardship we expose
While in each heart the fire of hatred glows ·
For while the Nation doth the Sháh oppose,
And while the Sháh supports the Nation's foes,
    And while Reaction dominates the State
    Needs must our caravan be lame and late!

(3)

We say that now at last the Press is free,
That Persia shall regain prosperity,
That firmly based is now our Liberty,
That colleges abound increasingly.
Bottle and stone best typify our state!
Needs must our caravan be lame and late!

* * * *

(5)

An ass becomes our arbiter supreme,
A dog controls each project and each scheme,
A fox the object of respect doth seem,
Shapshál[1] a trusty treasurer we deem
What piece can move to save the King from mate?
Needs must our caravan be lame and late!

(11) ✓

The following poem, with the refrain "How can hearing be like seeing?" appeared in the *Nasím-i-Shimál* for May 29, 1908 (No 19) It also is from the pen of Ashraf

الا تا چند راحت آرمیدن، نرفته کی توان جائی رسیدن،
ندیده کی توان صورت کشیدن، محمّد دیدن و موسی شنیدن،
شنیدن کی بود مانند دیدن،

خبر آمد که ایران را بهار است، بهارستان پُر از مشکِ تتار است،
فضای پارلمان هم عطر بار است، بباید لاله از مشروطه چیدن،
شنیدن کی بود مانند دیدن،

خبر آمد جهان امن و امان شد، سرغست شه مُطیعِ پارلمان شد،
بدولت نیز ملّت توأمان شد، گذشت آن ظلم و قتل و سر بریدن،
شنیدن کی بود مانند دیدن،

[1] See *supra*, p 181, n 1

جهان روشن شد از انوار مجلس، بود روح القدس معمار مجلس،
باطراف و در و دیوار مجلس، بباید عنکبوت آسا تنیدن،
شنیدن کی بود مانند دیدن،

بحمد الله ز قید ظلم رستیم، سر دیو جهالت‌را شکستیم،
بطوف پارلمان احرام بستیم، چو وحشی باید از ظالم رمیدن،
شنیدن کی بود مانند دیدن،

خبر آمد که شد دوران ملّت، خلاص از مستبدّ شد جان ملّت،
بسا گشتند سلّاخان ملّت، نباید گرگ بر برّه پریدن،
شنیدن کی بود مانند دیدن،

خبر آمد که ظالم از جهان رفت، از استبداد هم نام و نشان رفت،
حدیث داغ و شلّاق از میان رفت، نباید گربه بر دنبه جهیدن،
شنیدن کی بود مانند دیدن،

نباید زد سر افسار والله، نباید رفت زیر بار والله،
نباید شد خر اغیار والله، چه خوش بی[1] روح انسانی دمیدن،
شنیدن کی بود مانند دیدن،

شها تریاک های قند تا کی، بدردان و دغل پیوند تا کی،
بقرآن بیجهت سوگند تا کی، نصیحت باید از اشرف شنیدن،
شنیدن کی بود مانند دیدن،

[1] *Bí* is a dialect form of *buwad*, familiar to all educated Persians through the popular quatrains of Bábá Táhir the Lur, who may be called the "Burns of Persia."

(12)

The following poem appeared in the *Nasím-i-Shimál* for June 18, 1908 (No 22), five days before the *Coup d'État*.

ایران ز عطرِ علم معطّر نمی شود،   در شوره‌زار لاله مبشّر نمی شود،
سنگ و کلوخ لؤلؤ و گوهر نمی شود،   صد بار گفته‌ام مکرّر نمی شود،
دندانِ مار دستهٔ خنجر نمی شود،

ظالم کجا و راه‌روِ معدلت کجا،   سلطان کجا و با ضعفا مرحمت کجا،
طفلِ محلّه‌گرد کجا تربیت کجا،   با زورِ زر گزر چو چغندر نمی شود،
دندانِ مار دستهٔ خنجر نمی شود،

گفتیم علم و صنعت و ثروت زیاده شد،   از فیلِ ظلم شاه تکلّی پیاده شد،
با قوت و فنّ کاسه‌گری قلع ماده شد،   دیدیم مشکل است حجر زر نمی شود،
دندانِ مار دستهٔ خنجر نمی شود،

نه قولمان درست نه افعالمان صحیح،   نه عقلمان رسا و نه اعمالمان صحیح،
نه عالمان معیّن و نه حامیان صحیح،   واللّه این فقیر توانگر نمی شود،
دندانِ مار دستهٔ خنجر نمی شود،

رنج دو ساله رفت هدر وا مصیبتا،   شد کار و بارِ خلق بتر وا مصیبتا،
خوردیم زهر جای شکر وا مصیبتا،   دیدیم هر سیاه چو قنبر[1] نمی شود،
دندانِ مار دستهٔ خنجر نمی شود،

مرغا نهالِ نورس مشروطه رخ گشود،   در پای او جداولِ خون جای آب بود،
نشکفت بهای نخلِ وطن خون روان نبود،   بی آب هیچ نخله تناور نمی شود،
دندانِ مار دستهٔ خنجر نمی شود،

[1] Qanbar was the faithful negro servant of the Imám 'Alí To say "every negro is not a Qanbar" is equivalent to saying "every sailor is not a Nelson"

پیله‌سوار[1] گشته قدمگاه دشمنان، خلخال[2] حالحال شد از ظلمِ رهزنان،
تبریز مال مال شد از نالهٔ زنان، در حیرتم که گوشِ فلک کر نمی شود،
دندان مار دستهٔ خنجر نمی شود،

دردا و حسرتا که فزون شد جنونِ ما، ای مستبد مگو سخن از جهد و جنونِ ما،
قاضی برشوه شده راضی بخونِ ما، این ماده بُر بحقِّ خدا سر نمی شود،
دندان مار دستهٔ خنجر نمی شود،

ای ملّتِ غیور کنون وقتِ عبرت است، ای ملّتِ نجیب کنون وقتِ عبرت است،
مذهب ز دست رفت وطن در مذلّت است، دندان مار دستهٔ خنجر نمی شود،

(13)

The following *tasníf*, or ballad, appeared in the same issue of the *Nasím-i-Shimál* (No 22) as the last It is written in a very simple and somewhat colloquial style *Mi shé* and *na-mí-shé* ("will it be?" "it cannot be!") are common colloquial contractions for *mí-shawad* and *namí-shawad*, *siya* (black) = *siyah* *shahwat khardní* means "self-indulgence," "pampering the passions", *ján-i-Mawlá* (analogous to *ján-i-pidar*) means literally "Soul of the Lord," *i e* "God's beloved" and is equivalent to "my good friend", and *yáru* ("that friend" of ours) refers to some person, known to the speaker and the hearer only, whom it is not desired to name It is often used contemptuously, and here, presumably refers to Muhammad 'Alí Sháh

میشه دولت بملّت یار گردد، نگو هرگز نمیشه های های،
باهلِ مملکت غمخوار گردد، نگو هرگز نمیسه های های،
شبیه نادر افشار گردد، نگو هرگز نمیسه های های،
نگو هرگز نمیشه های های
سیا قرمز نمیشه های های

[1] *Pílasuwár* (Balasowar of the maps) is situated near the western shore of the Caspian, in the northern part of the province of Tálish close to the Russo-Persian frontier, and was the scene of one of the earliest acts of Russian aggression.

[2] *Khalkhál* is a district between Azarbáyján and Tálish, between Ardabíl and Miyána

همیشه گرگی بشکل آشنا شه، نگو هرگز نمیشه های های
همیشه شیطان بشکل اولیا شه، نگو هرگز نمیشه های های
همیشه شهوت جرانی پادشا شه، نگو هرگز نمیشه های های

نگو هرگز نمیشه های های
سیا قرمز نمیشه های های

بیا شاها صفا کن جان مولا، نگو هرگز نمیشه های های
رعیت را رها کن جان مولا، نگو هرگز نمیشه های های
بملت خوب تا کن جان مولا، نگو هرگز نمیشه های های

نمد شولا نمیشه های های
جان مولا نمیشه های های

میشه ایران ویران گردد آباد، نگو هرگز نمیشه های های
شود ظالم از این مشروطه دلشاد، نگو هرگز نمیشه های های

یارو راضی نمیشه های های،
پشه قاضی نمیشه های های،

(14)

After the *Coup d'État* of June 23, 1908, and the destruction of the First National Assembly, the free press of the first Constitutional Period entirely disappeared for some months, and Mírzá Jahángír Khán of Shíráz, the editor of the *Ṣúr-i-Isráfíl* ("Trumpet-call of Isráfíl"), one of the most notable publications of that period, was put to death by the ex-Sháh Muḥammad 'Alí in the Bágh-i-Sháh "Dakhaw[1]," one of the most talented contributors to that paper, escaped to Europe, and again began to publish the paper at Yverdon in Switzerland on Muḥarram 1, A.H. 1327 (January 23, 1909) Only three numbers, so [illegible]

[1] See p. 190 *supra*.



این عکس در سال ۱۹۱۰ مسیحی در استانبول انداخته شد

Mírzá 'Alí Akbar "Dikhudá" (right) and Mírzá Husayn Dánish Khán (left), both notable Persian poets

know, appeared; the third, published on March 8, 1909, contained the following elegy on Mírzá Jahángír Khán, "that Martyr of the Path of Liberty and most faithful defender of the rights of his country," by his associate and friend, the above-mentioned Mírzá 'Alí Akbar Dih-khudá, better known as "*Dakhaw*." It will be noticed that this poem, in the arrangement of its rhymes, shows strong traces of European influence. It runs as follows

وصیّت‌نامهٔ دوستِ یگانهٔ من هدیّهٔ برادری بیوفا به پیشگاهِ
آن روح اقدس و اعلی

(۱)

ای مرغِ سحر چو این شبِ تار، بگذاشت ز سر سیاه‌کاری،
وز نفحهٔ روح‌بخشِ اسحار، رفت از سرِ خفتگان خماری،
بگشود گره ز زلفِ زرتار، محبوبهٔ نیلگون عماری،
یزدان بکمال شد پدیدار، و اهریمنِ زشت‌خو حصاری،
یاد آر ز شمع مرده یاد آر،

(۲)

ای مونسِ یوسف اندرین بند، تعبیرِ عیان چو شد ترا خواب،
دل پر ز شعف لب از شکرخند، محسودِ عدو بکامِ اصحاب،
رفتی برِ یار و خویش و پیوند، آزادتر از نسیم و مهتاب،
زان کو همه شام با تو یک چند، در آرزوی وصالِ احباب،
اختر بسحر شمرده یاد آر،

(۳)

چون باغ شود دو باره خرّم، ای بلبل مستمند مسکین،
وز سنبل و سوری و سپرغم آفاق نگارخانهٔ چین،
گل سرخ و سرخ عرق ز شبنم، تو داده ز کف قرار و تمکین،
ز آن نو گلِ پیش رس که در غم نا داده نثارِ شوق تسکین،
از سردی دی فسرده یاد آر،

(٤)

ای همرهِ تیهِ پورِ عمران، بگذشت چو این سنین معدود،
و آن شاهدِ نغزِ بزمِ عرفان، بنمود چو وعدِ خویش مشهود،
وز مذبحِ زر چو شد بکیوان هر صبح شمیمِ عنبر و عود،
ز آن کو بگناه قومِ نادان، در حسرتِ روی ارضِ موعود،
بر بادیه جان سپرده یاد آر،

(٥)

چون گشت ز نو زمانه آباد، ای کودک دورهٔ طلائی،
وز طاعتِ بندگانِ خود شاد، بگرفت ز سر خدا خدائی،
نه رسمِ ارم نه اسم شدّاد، گِل بست دهانِ ژاژ خائی،
ز آن کس که ز نوکِ تیغ جلّاد، مأخوذ بجرمِ حقّ ستائی،
پیمانهٔ وصل خورده یاد آر،

(*Prose Translation*)

"*In Memory of my incomparable Friend the offering of an unworthy brother at the shrine of that most high and holy Spirit*

(1)

"O bird of the morning, when this gloomy night puts aside
 its dark deeds,
And, at the life-giving breath of the Dawn, besotted slumber
 departs from the heads of those who sleep,
And the Loved One enthroned on the dark blue litter loosens
 the knots from her golden-threaded locks[1],
And God is manifested in perfection, while Ahriman of evil
 nature withdraws to his citadel,
Remember, O remember, that extinguished Lamp[2]!

(2)

"O companion of Joseph in this bondage, when the interpretation
 of the Dream becomes plain to thee,
And thy heart is full of joy, and thy lips with sweet laughter,
 and thou art as thy friends would have thee, and envied
 by thy foes,
And thou hast gone back to thy friends and kin, freer than
 the zephyr or the moonlight,
Remember him who, for a while throughout the night, in the
 desire to meet the friends, with thee counted the stars until
 the morning

(3)

"When the garden smiles again O poor, longing nightingale,
And when the horizons become like the picture-gallery of China
 with hyacinths, red roses and marjoram,
And when the rose is red, and the dew stands like sweat on its
 cheek, while thou hast relinquished rest and consideration,

[1] The golden rays of the sun in the dark blue pavilion of the sky are intended In Persian there is no gender, but it is worth noting that in Arabic the sun is feminine, while the moon is masculine

[2] *i e.* Mírzá Jahángír Khán, who lighted us on our way ere the Dawn broke, until his light was quenched in death.

Remember that budding rose which bloomed before its time, and which withered in sorrow in the chill of December ere it had assuaged the fires of its cravings!

(4)

"O thou who wert the companion in the Desert of 'Imrán's son! When these few years have elapsed,
And that sweet comrade at the Banquet of Wisdom hath made manifest his promise,
And when each morning the fragrance of ambergris and aloes ascends to Saturn from the Golden Altar,
Remember him who, for the sins of an ignorant people, yielded up his life in the Desert, hoping for a sight of the Promised Land!

(5)

"When the times are once more propitious, O Child of the Golden Age,
And God, gladdened by the obedience of His Servants, once again assumes Divinity,
And there endures neither the fashion of Iram nor the name of Shaddád[1], but earth stops the mouth of him whose food was filth (*i e* whose words were folly),
Remember him who, punished for the crime of glorifying the truth, drained the draught of Union from the point of the headsman's sword!"

(15)

This and the two following poems are of some historical interest in connection with the incipient rising in Rasht, which, in conjunction with the gathering of the Bakhtiyárí clans at Isfahán, culminated in the capture of Tihrán and deposition of Muhammad 'Alí Sháh in July, 1909 The first of these three poems appeared in the *Nasím-i-Shimál* (No 23) of February 15, 1909, and recommends "deeds not words" to the people of Gílán

[1] For the ancient Arabian tyrant Shaddád and his wonderful Garden of Iram see *súra* lxxxix of the *Qur'án*, verses 5—7, and the commentaries on it. Here Muhammad 'Alí, the ex Sháh, and his garden, the *Bágh-i Sháh*, are meant.

سلطنت بهرِ شهان با ستم وظلم نپاید، جان نثاری پی اصلاحِ وطن باید و شاید،
تا که همّت نکنی کس برُخت در نگشاید، مرد آن است که لب بندد و بازو بگشاید،

انبیا درج نمودند مقالات عدالت، اولیا جمله سرودند عبارات عدالت،
علما جمله نوشتند روایات عدالت، گفتگو بیهُده از مُظلِمه امروز نشاید،
مرد آن است که لب بندد و بازو بگشاید،

جاهِدُوا گفت خداوند بانجیل و بقرآن، خیز از بهر وطن همچو مجاهد بفشان جان،
خنجر و تیر و خدنگ است گل و نرگس و ریحان، نغمهٔ توپ وتفنگ است که غمها بزداید،
مرد آن است که لب بندد و بازو بگشاید،

(*Prose Translation*)

Sovereignty endureth not for cruel and tyrannical kings to lay down life for the amelioration of one's country is meet and proper

So long as thou makest no effort, no one will open the door before thee he is a man who shuts his lips and stretches out his arm!

The Prophets have included in their utterances discourses on Justice all the Saints have celebrated the praises of Justice

All the learned have enshrined in their writings traditions of Justice. unseemly to-day is vain talk about Injustice

He is a man who shuts his lips and stretches out his arm!

"Strive" (*jáhidú*) saith God both in the Gospels and in the *Qur'án* arise, then, and like a "striver" (*mujahid*) lay down thy life for thy country's sake![1]

[1] See *Qur'án*, v, 39, ix, 41, 87, xxii, 77 *Mujáhid* (the title given during the Persian Revolution to the National Volunteers) is the participle corresponding to the noun *Jihád*, which means a "striving" "in God's way" (*fí sabíli'lláh*), and in the *Qur'án* especially fighting for the Faith, but in these days for the Fatherland. The appeal to the *Gospels* as well as the *Qur'án* is interesting and characteristic, for it must be remembered that many of those *Mujáhidín* were Armenian Christians.

Dagger, arrow and javelin are as the rose, the narcissus and the basil it is the roar of cannons and guns which will dissipate our sorrows!
He is a man who shuts his lips and stretches out his arm!

(16)

The following verses appeared in the same issue of the *Nasím-i-Shimál* as the last, and celebrate the adhesion (or apparent adhesion) of the *Sipahdár*, who had previously been employed by the Sháh in the siege of Tabríz, to the Nationalist Cause The quatrain immediately following these verses appeared in the issue of the same paper dated March 5, 1909, and like them celebrates the praises of the *Sipahdár*

شده گیلان دگر باره پر انوار ،   ز یُمنِ مقدمِ سعدِ سپهدار ،
سزد گیلانیان یکسر نمایند ،   غبارِ مقدمش را کحلِ ابصار ،
جهانگیرا امیرِ دستگیرا ،   که نامت منتشر گشته در اقطار ،
نظیرِ خود ندیدست و نبیند ،   چو تو ملّت[ε] پرستی هیچ دیّار ،
ز دیلم گر عیان شد آلِ بویه ،   ز تنکابن چو تو گشته پدیدار ،
میانِ صد هزاران خلق چون دید ،   خدایت لایقِ هر شغل و هر کار ،
ز لطفِ خویش در گوشِ دلت گفت ،   که هان بشتاب و گیلان را نگهدار ،
نگهدارش که نامت باد باقی ،   نگهدارش که عمرت باد بسیار ،
الا تا رایتِ مشروطه بر پاست ،   هلا تا جامِ مشروطه است سرشار ،
همیشه باد مدّاحِ تو اشرف
نگهدارت خداوند جهاندار ،

روشن و تابنده باد نامِ سپهدار ،   باقی و پاینده باد نامِ سپهدار ،
هم بفلک ثبت در جرایدِ عرشی ،   هم بزمین زنده باد نامِ سپهدار ،

(*Translation*)

Once again Gílán is filled with radiance by the blessing of the auspicious advance of the *Sipahdár*.
It were meet that all the people of Gílán should make the dust of his advance collyrium for their eyesight!
O Conqueror of the world, O Saviour-Chief whose fame hath become spread abroad throughout the lands,
No inhabitant [of this land] hath ever in his life beheld or will behold a patriot like thee!
If the House of Buwayh appeared from Daylam, from Tankábun hath appeared one like thee![1]!
Since, amongst hundreds of thousands of the people, God saw thee worthy of every work and deed,
In His Mercy He whispered into the ear of thy heart, "O make haste, and take charge of Gílán!
"Take charge of it, that thy name may endure for ever! Take charge of it, and may thy life be long!"
O, so long as the Standard of the Constitution stands, and so long as the cup of the Constitution brims over,
May Ashraf ever be thy panegyrist! May God the Ruler of the world keep thee in safety!

May the name of the *Sipahdár* be bright and resplendent,
May the name of the *Sipahdár* continue and endure!
May the name of the *Sipahdár* live on earth,
And may it be inscribed in the register of Heaven!

(17)

The following poem also appeared in the *Nasím-i-Shimál*, in No 27, issued on March 5, 1909. It is supposed to express the despair of the Devil at the downfall of Despotism, and is not lacking in merit and originality

[1] The House of Buwayh ruled over the greater part of Southern Persia from A.D. 932 to 1055, and came originally from the shores of the Caspian Sea Though their immediate ancestor was of humble station, they claimed noble Persian descent, and the learned al Bírúní supports this claim

(۱)

گفت شیطانِ دغا آخ چکنم واخ چکنم، گشت مشروطه بپا آخ چکنم واخ چکنم،
تیغ مشروطه بگلزارِ وطن شهپر زد، معدلت بر رگِ شریانِ ستم خنجر زد،
نامِ مشروطه بچشمِ ظلمه خنجر زد، مستند گشت فنا آخ چکنم واخ چکنم،

(۲)

من که شیطانم از این غصه زمین گیر شدم، مستبدین همه مردند ز غم پیر شدم،
واسی منکه ز اوضاعِ جهان سیر شدم، گشتم انگشت نما آخ چکنم واخ چکنم،
گفتِ شیطانِ دغا آخ چکنم واخ چکنم،

(۳)

منکه دیوانه شدم ای عقلا دور شوید، می زنم سنگ بسرهای شما دور شوید،
مستبدین همه گشتند فنا دور شوید، زده مشروطه لوا آخ چکنم واخ چکنم،
گفت شیطانِ دغا آخ چکنم واخ چکنم،

(۴)

سالها بود که خونِ همه‌را می خوردیم، پولها از طرف بیوه زنان می بردیم،
حقِ ملّت را بصد جور می آوردیم، همه گشتیم گدا آخ چکنم واخ چکنم
گفت شیطانِ دغا آخ چکنم واخ چکنم

(۵)

[illegible] ظلم و جفا حیله و تزویر بمرد، محو شد رنگ و ریا رشوهٔ بی بهر بمرد
[illegible] رنج و عنا گشت زمین گیر بمرد، رفت آهش بسما آخ چکنم واخ چکنم
گفت شیطانِ دغا آخ چکنم واخ چکنم

(٦)

هفت مه بود که مشروطه درین ملك بود، رازعین‌را بدن از قیچی ما نبود کبود،
جوجه و مرغ و فسنجان ز سرِ خوانِ ربود، پر زد و رفت هوا آخ چکنم واخ چکنم،
مستبد گشت فنا آخ چکنم واخ چکنم،

(٧)

ای فلك آن همه بد جرئی و شلتاق چه شد، چادر و دستگه و تخته و چماق چه شد،
نقلِ چوب و فلك و ضربتِ شلّاق چه شد، چه شد آن شو و نما آخ چکنم واخ چکنم،
گفت شیطانِ دعا آخ چکنم واخ چکنم،

(٨)

چه شد آن قتلِ رعیت چه شد آن ظلم و عذاب، چه شد آن برّهٔ بریان چه شد آن جام شراب،
چه شد آن شربتِ قند و چه شد آن مرغِ کباب، چه شد آن برگ و نوا آخ چکنم واخ چکنم،
گفت شیطانِ دعا آخ چکنم واخ چکنم،

(٩)

مرشدا سبحهٔ تسخیر نُه سر جبن و سرو، زاهدا سفرهٔ لی پیر نُه سر جبن و برو،
شیخا مسند تزویر نُه سر جبن و برو، گشته دورِ عقلا آخ چکنم واخ چکنم،
مستبد گشت فنا آخ چکنم واخ چکنم،

(١)

اهلِ گیلان همه یکمرتبه هشیار شدند، از حقوق وطنِ خویش خبردار شدند،
دزدکی امشب نتوان کرد که بیدار شدند، شحنه در داد ندا آخ چکنم واخ چکنم،
مستبد گشت فنا آخ چکنم واخ چکنم،

(11)

اصفهان در کفِ حضرت صمصام آمد، کارِ تبریز ز سردار بانجام آمد،
ملکِ گیلان ز سپهدار نکو نام آمد رشت بگرفت صفا آخ چکنم واخ چکنم،
مشهد گشت صفا آخ چکنم واخ چکنم،

(Translation)

(1)

The wily old Devil did groan and greet,
"What'll I do? O what'll I do?
"For the Constitution has found its feet
"What'll I do? O what'll I do?
"The Bird of Liberty preens its wings in a rose-girt land,
"And Tyranny's vein is severed at last by Justice's hand,
"And the Despot's eyes are blinded by Freedom's gleaming brand,
"And the autocrats are, it would seem, dead beat,
"What'll I do? O what'll I do?"
The wily old Devil did groan and greet,
"What'll I do? O what'll I do?"

(2)

"I, the Devil, with this vexation am now laid low,
"All the despots are dead, and I am grown old with woe,
"In very truth I am sorry and sick at the way things go.
"I'm exposed to the finger of scorn in the street
"What'll I do? O what'll I do?"
The wily old Devil did groan and greet,
"What'll I do? O what'll I do?"

(3)

"Men of sense! I am mad 'Twere best you should let me alone!
"Lest I arise and break your heads with stick or with stone!
"For the autocrats all are uprooted and scattered and overthrown,

"And the Flag of Freedom the people greet
"What'll I do? O what'll I do?"
The wily old Devil did groan and greet,
"What'll I do? O what'll I do?"

(4)

"For many a year from all and sundry I sucked the gore,
"And stole the hard-won moneys I found in the widow's store,
"And afflicted the heart of the people with sorrows and griefs galore
"But now we're beggars who roam the street,
"What'll I do? O what'll I do?"
The wily old Devil did groan and greet,
"What'll I do? O what'll I do?"

(5)

"Deceit is dead, and cruel oppression hath passed away
"Hypocrisy's crushed and godless bribery's lost its sway
"Fallen and dead is the despot, his head with grief grown grey
"His sighs to heaven rise swift and fleet,
"What'll I do? O what'll I do?"
The wily old Devil did groan and greet,
"What'll I do? O what'll I do?"

(6)

"For seven months this country no Constitution knew
"With our whips and our scourges the backs of the peasants were black and blue
"But now from the libertine's tables the chickens and game and stew
"Have taken their flight with hurrying feet
"What'll I do? O what'll I do?"
The wily old Devil did groan and greet,
"What'll I do? O what'll I do?"

(7)

"Heavens! What hath become of our curses and oaths and
blows?
"Our pavilions and pomps, and the thrones and truncheons
which we dispose?
"The sticks and scourges and rods that were ready in ranks
and rows?
"What hath arrested our nimble feet?
"What'll I do? O what'll I do?"
The wily old Devil did groan and greet,
"What'll I do? O what'll I do?"

(8)

"What hath become of our slaughter of peasants and torments
grim?
"What of our roasted lambs and our goblets filled to the brim?
"What of our sherbets sweet and the succulent capon's limb?
"Whither is gone our delectable meat?
"What'll I do? O what'll I do?"
The wily old Devil did groan and greet,
"What'll I do? O what'll I do?"

* * * *

(18)

The following poem appeared in No 45 of the *Nasím-i-Shimál* on July 12, 1909, the very day on which the first detachment of the Nationalist Volunteers under the command of the *Sipahdár* entered Tihrán[1] It depicts Shaykh Fazlu'lláh, the reactionary *mujtahid*, hastening to betray Persian independence and ready to sell the country by auction to the highest bidder A rhymed paraphrase of the first half of this poem is appended

[1] See my *Persian Revolution*, p. 315.



نه یه لازم بو جاما مسجدلر، بو جامعسز داشلر، ویرەک آحماق
انگلیسلره قویسون گیتسون

English tourist collecting antiques

(۱)

حاجی بازار رواج است رواج، کو خریدار هراج است هراج،
می فروشم همهٔ ایران را، عرض و ناموس مسلمانان را
رشت و قزوین و قم و کاشان را، بخرید این وطنِ ارزان را،
برد و خوانسار هراج است هراج، کو خریدار هراج است هراج،

(۲)

دشمنِ فرقهٔ احرار منم، قاتلِ زمرهٔ احرار منم،
شیخ فضل‌اللّهِ سمسار منم، دین فروشنده بازار منم،
مالِ مُردار هراج است هراج، کو خریدار هراج است هراج،

(۳)

با همه خلق عداوت دارم، دشمنی با همه ملّت دارم،
از خودِ شاه وکالت دارم، بهراج از همه دعوت دارم،
وقتِ افطار هراج است هراج، کو خریدار هراج است هراج،

(٤)

"شهرِ نو" اردوی ملّی زده رخ، منتشر شده قزاقِ "کرج"
گر که دیوانه شوم نیست حرج، جز هراجم نبود راه فرج،
رختِ زرتار هراج است هراج، کو خریدار هراج است هراج،

(٥)

طبل و شیپور علم را کی میخواد، شتر و خورشید زرفر را کی میخواد،
تخت جمشیدِ عجم را کی میخواد، تاجِ کی مسندِ جم را کی میخواد،
اسپ و افسار هراج است هراج، کو خریدار هراج است هراج،

(۶)

می دهم تختِ کیان‌را بگرو، می زنم مسندِ جم‌را به عَلو،
می کشم قابِ خورش‌را به جلو، می خورم قیمه پلو قرمه چلو
رشتهٔ خوشکار حراج است حراج، کو خریدار حراج است حراج،

(۷)

آن شنیدم که مجمع در عتبات، زده چادر بلبِ شطِ فرات،
شده عازم همه با صلوات، جز فراحم نبود راه نجات،
دین باجار حراج است حراج، کو خریدار حراج است حراج،

(۸)

گر ز اسلام نشد قطع اثر، ور نیا گشت بگیلان محشر،
ور تبریز اُرُس کرد مقر، فرجه شد شد نجهنّم سقر،
موج اَفشار حراج است حراج، کو خریدار حراج است حراج،

(۹)

جدِّ مرحوم شه از مهر و داد، هفده شهر ز قفقاریه داد،
آنچه از مالِ پدر مانده ز یاد، می فروشد همه‌را بادا باد،
همه یکبار حراج است حراج، کو خریدار حراج است حراج،

(۱۰)

می کشد صیحه سروش از طرفی، بختیاری بخروش از طرفی،
ملّت? رشت بجوش از طرفی، شیخ‌را عزم فروش از طرفی،
[illegible] دربار حراج است حراج، کو خریدار حراج است حراج،

(۱۱)

در همه مکر و فن استادم من، مفتی بصره و بغدادم من •
قاضی سلطنت آبادم من، ای عجب در تله افتادم من
گرگ و کفتار هراج است هراج، کو خریدار هراج است هراج

(*Translation*)

(1)

Hájji, the market's brisk, the bidding high,
Here comes the auctioneer! Who'll buy? Who'll buy
I'm here the Persian land to sell or pawn,
The pride and honour of each Musulman,
Both Qum and Rasht, both Qazwín and Káshán,
Yazd, Khwánsár, every city of Irán
All's up for auction at a figure fair
Come, gentlemen, where is a bidder, where?

(2)

Of Liberals I am the stalwart foe
I'd like to kill them all, as well you know!
I represent Shaykh Fazlu'lláh and Co.,
Brokers, who hawk Religion to and fro,
Here is the carcase. Gentlemen, draw near!
Who'll buy? Who'll buy? Here comes the auctioneer!

(3)

My countrymen I loathe and execrate,
My country is the object of my hate!
I represent our Monarch wise and great,
Who to my hands commits the Nation's fate!
'Tis time for breakfast. Put this business through!
Who bids? Who bids? Come Sir, a bid from you!

(4)

At Shahr-i-Naw behold the patriots' post!
Scattered at Karach is the Cossack host!
Well may I rave, or e'en give up the ghost!
Let's sell the land to him who offers most!
    What offer for this richly-wrought brocade
    With gold enwoven? Is no offer made?

(5)

Who wants these trumpets, drums and flags to own?
Who'd make the Lion and the Sun his own?
Who'll make a bid for Persian Jamshíd's throne?
Kay's crown, Jam's sceptre in with these are thrown!
    For this fine horse and for this bridle rare
    Who'll make a bid? Where is an offer, where?

* * * *

(19)

The following poem, which celebrates the Nationalist victory and capture of Tihrán, the deposition of Muhammad 'Alí, and the accession of his young son Sultán Ahmad Sháh, appeared in No 48 of the *Nasím-i-Shimál* on August 1, 1909, only a fortnight after these stirring events It and the poem next succeeding are remarkable not only for their spirited words and metre and the wonderful lilt of the lines, but for a note of triumph and optimism which too rarely reveals itself in these poems The beauty of both poems lies largely in the euphony of the phrases and the splendour of the rhythm and rhymes, which I have despaired of rendering adequately into English, even in the freest paraphrase As the poems present no particular difficulty I have not given a prose translation, but have contented myself with adding a few notes to explain allusions to current events.

[illegible] سوارِ شیرانِ جنگ آور نگر ، در نگر ، عالمی دیگر نگر ،
[illegible] ست از مشروطه سر تا سر نگر ، در نگر ، عالمی دیگر نگر ،

پادشاهی کن که دورانِ جهان بر کامِ تست ' رامِ تست ' شاه احمد نامِ تست '
در محامد خویش‌را همنامِ پیغمبر نگر ' در نگر ' عالمی دیگر نگر '
دادخواهی کن درین مشروطه چون نوشیروان ' در جهان ' رخشِ همّت بر جهان '
خویش‌را والاتر از دارا و اسکندر نگر ' در نگر ' عالمی دیگر نگر '
در معارف دشمنانِ علم‌را نابود کن ' خود کن ' جهل‌را مفقود کن '
وقتِ تنگ و رخشِ لنگ و سعیِ معبر نگر ' در نگر ' عالمی دیگر نگر '
آخر این ایران که بوده جای جم پایتخت کی ' اهلِ وی ' غرقِ غفلت تا بکی '
باغبانا باغ‌را بی شاخ و برگ و بر نگر ' در نگر ' عالمی دیگر نگر '
ای سپهدارِ رشید ای روح بخشِ زنده دم ' دمبدم ' در ترقّی زن قدم '
نامِ خودرا تا جهان باقیست در دفتر نگر ' در نگر ' عالمی دیگر نگر '
پارلمان‌را از وکلای صحیح آباد کن ' داد کن ' ملّت‌را شاد کن '
خائنین‌را زود کن اخراج بر محضر نگر ' در نگر ' عالمی دیگر نگر '
شیخ نوری دستگیرِ فرقهٔ احرار شد[1] ' خوار شد ' [2]مقتدر بر دار شد '
وآن [3]مفاخر گشت حلق آویز بر کیفر نگر ' در نگر ' عالمی دیگر نگر '
مدّتی با شیخ رفتی با حریفان ساختی ' تاختی ' دیدی آخر باختی '
حال و روزِ بعد ازینت‌را از این بدتر نگر ' در نگر ' عالمی دیگر نگر '
سینه‌کوبان شیخ‌ما گوید سراری در جلو ' کو جلو ' آخ چه شد خرما پلو '

[1] The execution of Shaykh Fazlu'llah of Nur, the reactionary *mujtahid*, is announced in the latest news in this same issue.

[2] The allusion is to the *Muqtadir-i-Nizám*, who had been already punished in April, 1908, for the part he took in the Abortive *Coup d'État* of December, 1907 (See my *Persian Revolution*, p. 199.) He was not however hanged in August, 1909 as this poem implies.

[3] The *Mufákhiru'l-Mulk*, who had been Vice Governor of Tihrán and had taken refuge at the Russian Legation, was condemned to death by the Special Court instituted to try such cases, and was shot on July 29, 1909. See my *Persian Revolution*, p. 329.

[illegible] کو شتن حای شربت تر نگر، در نگر، عالمی دیگر نگر،
کو خورشهای لذیذ و مرغهای با مزه، خوشمزه، نو کباب و حریره،
کبک را در کوهسار و بره را در بر نگر، در نگر، عالمی دیگر نگر،

(20)

The following poem by Bahar of Mashhad, of which the general character has been discussed in the last article, appeared in No 1 of the *Írán-i-Naw* ("New Persia") on August 24, 1909.

آن دوره که طی شد دورانِ جانکاه، آسوده شد ملک الملک لله،
شد شاهِ نورا اقبال همراه، کوسِ شهی کوفت بر رغمِ بدخواه،
شد صبحِ طالع طی شد شبانگاه، الحمد لله الحمد لله،

یک چند ما را غم رهنمون شد، جان یارِ غم گشت دل غرقِ خون شد،
پرچمِ وطن را رخ نیلگون شد، و امروزه دشمن خوار و زبون شد،
زین جشنِ بخت زین فتحِ ناگاه، الحمد لله الحمد لله،

چندی ز بیداد فرسوده گشتیم، با خاک و با خون آلوده گشتیم،
وز رنجِ بی خصم بیهوده گشتیم، و امروز دیگر آسوده گشتیم،
از ظلمِ ظالم وز کیدِ بدخواه، الحمد لله الحمد لله،

آنانکه ما را کشتند و بستند، قلبِ وطن را از کینه خستند،
از راهِ آزادی پیمان شکستند، از جنگِ ملت آخر نجستند،
[illegible] تا حضرتِ شاه[1] الحمد لله الحمد لله،

[1] *i.e.* Shaykh Fazlu'lláh of Núr and the ex-Sháh Muhammad 'Alí.

آنانکه با جور   معصوب گشتند   در معدهٔ ملك   میکروب گشتند[1]
آخر بملت   معصوب گشتند   از ساحت ملك   جاروب گشتند
پیران جاهل   شیخان گمراه   الحمد لله   الحمد لله

چون کدخدا دید   جور شان را   از جا بر انگیخت   ستار خانرا[2]
سد ستم ساخت   آن مرزبان را   تا کرد رنگین   تیغ و سنانرا
از جور دشمن   ور معر بدخواه   الحمد لله   الحمد لله

پس مستبدین   حتی جهیدند   گفتند حتی   حتی شنیدند
تا گه ز هر سو   شیران رسیدند   آن روبهان باز   دم در کشیدند
شد طعمهٔ شیر   مکار روباه   الحمد لله   الحمد لله

اقبال شد یار   با بختیاری   گیلانیان را   حق کرد یاری
جیش عدو شد   یکسر فراری   در کنج غم گشت   دشمن حصاری
شد کار ملت   بر طرز دلخواه   الحمد لله   الحمد لله

یکسو سپهدار[3]   شد ونه را سد   یکسو یورش برد   سردار اسعد
ضرغام پر دل[3]   آمد ز یك حد   بر کف گرفتند   تیغ مهند
بستند بر خصم   از هر طرف راه   الحمد لله   الحمد لله

بد خواه دین را   سد منبر بود   حاکش سر شد   پاداش این بود
دشمن که با عیش   دائم قرین بود   اکنون قرین است   با ناله و آه
الحمد لله   الحمد لله

1 "Became as microbes in the belly of the Commonwealth."
2 Sattár Khán, the hero of Tabríz.
3 The *Sipahdár*, who was nominally in command of the Army of Rasht, and the Bakhtiyárí chiefs *Sardár-i As'ad* and *Zarghámu's-Salṭana*, were the chief heroes of the Nationalist Victory of July, 1909.

یا سپهدار فرخنده بادا، سردار اسعد پاینده بادا،
صمصام ایمان بُرّنده بادا، ضرغام دین را دل زنده بادا،
کافتاد از ایشان بدخواه درچاه، الحمد لله الحمد لله،

ستّار خان را بادا ظفر یار، تبریزیان را یزدان نگهدار،
سالارشان را نیکو بود کار، احرار را نیز دل باد بیدار،
تا جمله گوید با جان آگاه، الحمد لله الحمد لله،

(ترقّی) (ملك الشّعرا بهار)

(21)

The following poem, entitled "the disordered dream of Muhammad 'Alí Mírzá on the first night of his arrival at Odessa in Russia," appeared on December 16, 1909, in No 91 of the *Írán-i-Naw*

(خواب پریشان محمّد علی میرزا اوّلین شب زندگانی در اودیسای روسیه)

خواب می بینم که گویا شاه ایرانم هنوز، در میان باغ خود در نی و عصیانم ه
خواب می بینم بهادر جنگ با آن سنگ سنگ، می ستاید شه سه قربان فرمانم ه
خواب می بینم لیاخوف بود پولکوینك روس، می دهد با نیب قزّاقان خود سانم ه
خواب می بینم مشیر السّلطنه چون گاو پیر، می مکاند خون مردم از دو پستانم ه
خواب می بینم که سعد الدّوله آن خود خواه محض، مژدهها بخشد ز همراهی روسانم ه
خواب می بینم که شیخ نوری و میرزا حسن، می دهد فتوای کسر حلف قرآنم ه
خواب می بینم امام جمعه و امثال او، می کند تحریك نقض عهد و پیمانم ه
خواب می بینم که اکبر شاه و کور آملی، بر منابر می سرایند ظلّ سبحانم ه
خواب می بینم مجلّل با صراحی شراب، در حضور استاده با زلف پریشانم ه

خواب می بینم که در خلوت ندیمی ساده‌روی، می فریبد با دو چشم مست و فتانم هنوز
خواب می بینم که تالان می کند تبریزرا، عین دوله با صمد خان و رحیم خانم هنوز
خواب می بینم ز بهر صرف جنگ از بانك روس، با گرو همچون گدایان قرض خواهانم هنوز

(عشق آباد، میر)

(*Translation*)

"I dream once more I rule o'er Persia's land,
And in my garden scoff at God's command
Bahádur Jang before me still I see,
Who cries 'O King! May I thy ransom be!'
Liakhoff too, my Russian colonel true,
Marshals his Cossacks still before my view
While old *Mushíru's-Saltana*, the cow!
Drains, as of yore, the people's life-blood now,
And *Sa'du'd-Dawla*, egotist unique,
Still to my ears of Russian aid doth speak
The Shaykh of Núr and Mírzá Hasan both
Sanction the breaking of my solemn oath
The *Imam Jum'a* and his pious peers
Urge me to break my word and have no fears
Kúr Ámulí and Akbar Sháh withal
Me still God's shadow on the Earth do call
Mujallal, with the wine-cup in his hand,
With locks dishevelled doth before me stand,
While smooth-cheeked pages with love-wanton eyes
Bemuse my wits and make my heart their prize,
And *'Aynu d-Dawla*, Samad and Rahím
Still loot the town of Tabríz in my dream
Still from the Russian Bank my wars to wage
I beg for cash and offer pledge and gauge[1]"

[1] All the persons mentioned in the above poem were notorious reactionaries, and full accounts of most of them will be found in my *Persian Revolution*, viz of *Amír Bahádur Jang* on pp 114, 162, 166, 199–200, 227 261 321, 330, 334 and 446–7, of *Liakhoff*, *passim*, of *Mushíru's Saltana*, pp 334, 405, 445, of *Sa'du'd-Dawla*, pp 34, 131, 137, 140, 154–5, 166, 306, 330, 334 and 443; of 'Ábidín Khán *Mujallalu's Sultán*, pp 198–200, 330, 432, 445 and 447–8, of *'Aynu'd Dawla*,

(22)

The following fine poem originally appeared on July 26, 1909, in the *Nasím-i-Shimál*, No 47, and again in the *Íran-i-Naw*, No 93, on December 19, 1909. In the first only it bears the superscription من کلام عشور عمو In the second it is followed by another poem signed Mírzá Taqí Khán *Darwísh*, but it is not clear whether this signature is intended to apply to both poems or only to the second

(۱)

صد شکر حقوقِ وطن امروز ادا شد، به به چه بجا شد،
هنگامِ وفا وقت صفا دوعِ جفا شد، به به چه بجا شد،

(۲)

الحمد که قانونِ الهی جریان یافت، ملّت همه جان یافت، شد کشته وجان یافت،
قرآنِ محمّد همه را راهنما شد، مشروطه بپا شد، به به چه بجا شد،

(۳)

بخواست ستمگر بکُشد هوش لسان را، والا نسان را قانون طلبان را،
حسرت بدلش ماند وخودش رفت وفنا شد، به به چه بجا شد،

(٤)

این غلغله وین جشن واین شورشِ ملّی، این کوششِ ملّی وین جوششِ ملّی،
واللّه که از بهر حقوق فقرا شد، به به چه بجا شد،

pp. 105, 108–9, 111, 113, 117–118, 124, 256, 272, 327, of Samad Khán *Shujá'u'd-Dawla*, pp 270, 273, 442 and 446, and of Rahím Khan, pp. 141–2, 148, 256, 262, 271, 296, 347, 349, 441 and 446 By "the Shaykh of Núr" is meant Shaykh Fazlu'lláh, concerning whom see pp 113, 148–9, 242, 261 and 444–5 of the same work. For Hájji Mírzá Hasan the *mujtahid* of Tabríz, see *ibid*, pp. 107, 249 and 261, for the *Imám-Jum'a* of Tihrán, Mírzá Abu'l Qásim, pp 80–81, 89–90, 131, 281 and 444. By *Kúr-i-Ámulí* ("the Blind Man of Ámul") is meant Mullá Muhammad of Ámul in Mázandarán, also called *Kúr i Mawsil* Sayyid Akbar Sháh was a *rauza-khwán* or religious rhapsodist

(۵)

شد خلع محمّد علی از تخت کیانی، آن سان که تو دانی پیدا نه ...

از چنگ دورنگان وطن امروز رها شد، جانان همه جا شد، به به چه بجا شد

(۶)

خلّاق جهان چاره بما شاه جوان داد، هم قوّتِ جان داد، بل روح روان داد

از جهدِ سپهدار وطن کام روا شد، به به چه بجا شد

(۷)

ای ملّت تبریز سعادت شدتان یار، ای حضرتِ ستّار و ای باقرِ سالار

از همّتتان مات عقول عقلا شد، به به چه بجا شد

(۸)

تا شد عَلَمِ نَصْرٌ مِنَ اللّه نمایان، در خطّهٔ طهران ای ملّت گیلان

از سطوتان محو همه ارض و سما شد، به به چه بجا شد

(۹)

تا شد ز صفاهان عَلَمِ کاوه پدیدار، شد بخت بما یار از حملهٔ سردار

اسعد که مدد بخشِ جنودِ سعدا شد، به به چه بجا شد

(۱۰)

تا خواست خداوند که مخلوق نمیرند، ذلّت نپذیرند مشروطه بگیرند

احمد شه والا سرِ تختِ طلا شد، به به چه بجا شد

(۱۱)

المنّة لله که جوان شاهِ خجسته، چون لالهٔ رسته بر تخت نشسته

[illegible]، به به چه بجا شد

(۱۳)

قاطرچی و الدنگ ودبوری کجا رفت٬ سوری کجا رفت سوری کجا رفت٬
یارو بدرك رفت ودبوری کله پا شد٬ به به چه بجا شد٬

(۱۴)

پاشیخ نه بهی تو دگر رنگِ علورا٬ نه قیمه پلورا نه قرمه جلورا٬
زودِ دلت از داغ فسنجان بهوا شد٬ به به چه بجا شد [1]

(23)

The following "Mother's Lullaby" (*Láy-láy-i-Mádarána*) appeared on February 2, 1910, in No 123 of the *Írán-i-Naw* above the signature "Láhútí of Kirmánsháh"

آمد سحر و موسم کارست بالام لای٬ خواب تو دگر باعث عار است بالام لای
لای لای٬ بالا لای لای٬ لای لای بالا لای لای٬
ننگ است که مردم همه درکار و تو در خواب٬ اقبال وطن بسته بکار است بالام لای
برخیز و سوی مدرسه بشتاب٬ لای لای بالا لای لای٬
خاك تن آباء تو با خون شهیدان٬ برگرد تو زان خاك حصاری است بالام لا[ی]
گردیده غمین مادر ایران٬ لای لای بالا لای لای٬
تو کودك ایرانی و ایران وطنِ تست٬ جانرا تن بی عیب بکار است بالام لا[ی]
تو جانی و ایران چو تنِ تست٬ لای لای بالا لای لای٬

[1] The two texts of this poem offer a certain number of variants which for my present purpose I have not deemed it necessary to record I have followed in the main the *N S* version, which contains 3 stanzas (10, 11 and 19) omitted in *I.N.* The most important variant occurs in the third *misrá'* of stanza 8, where *N.S.* reads

ملیّتان درج به الواحِ بقا شد

رخیز سلحشور و تو در حفظ وطن کوش، ای تازه گل ایران رچه خواب است بالام لای
س جامهٔ عزّت بدن پوش، لای لای بالا لای لای،
جای تو به گهواره بود جای تو زین است، ای شیر پسر وقت شکار است بالام لای
رجیر که دشمن بکمین است، لای لای بالا لای لای،
بگذار وطن قسمت اغیار نگردد، تا آنکه وطن‌را چو تو یار است بالام لای
اموس وطن خوار نگردد، لای لای بالا لای لای،

(لاهوتی کرماشاهی)

(*Translation*)

(1)

Morn hath come and the time for work, with a *lám-láy*, *lám-láy*,
'Tis a shame any longer to sleep or to shirk, with a *lám-láy*, *lám-láy*!
Láy-láy, bálá lay-lay! Láy-láy, balá láy láy!

(2)

War's toward, and work for all, no time to waste, with a *lám-láy*,
Our country's hope on this work is based, with a *lám-láy*, *lám láy*,
Rise, then, rise, and to college haste, with a *lam-lay*, *lám-láy*!
Lay-láy, bálá lay-lay! Lay-lay, bala lay-láy!

(3)

From the martyrs' blood and thy forbears' dust, with a *lám-láy*, *lám-lay*,
A rampart rings thee which thou canst trust, with a *lám-láy*, *lám-láy*
Sorrow we may, but struggle we must, with a *lám-láy*, *lám-láy*!
Láy-láy, bálá láy-láy! Láy-láy, bálá láy-láy!

(4)

A Persian boy art thou, and Persia thy fatherland, with a *lam-lay*,
Well in a faultless body a fearless soul doth stand, with a *lám-láy*!
That soul art thou, and this body of thine is the Persian land, with a *lam-lay*!
Láy-láy bála láy-lay! Lay-lay, bálá láy-láy!

(5)

Rise in arms, and to save the State thy quality show, with a *lám-láy*!
Wherefore, O tender rose-bud, is Persia brought so low, with a *lam-lay*!
With a garment of glory invest thyself, that it be not so, with a *lám-láy*!
Láy-lay, bálá láy-láy! Lay-lay, bálá láy-lay!

(6)

No longer the cot but the saddle now is thy proper place, with a *lam lay*!
O lion-cub, 'tis time for the chase, with a *lam-láy, lám-lay*!
Arise, arise, for a foeman lurks in each sheltering space, with a *lám-láy*!
Lay-láy, bálá lay-lay! Láy-lay, bála lay-láy!

(7)

Suffer not that thy native land be the foeman's share, with a *lam-lay*!
Since it hath like thee a hero bold and a champion rare, with a *lam-láy*!
Let not its honour decline and its hope be turned to despair, with a *lám-láy*!

(24)

The following poem, also by Láhútí of Kirmánsháh, appeared on February 9, 1910, in No 129 of the *Írán-i-Naw*, and is a denunciation of the notorious Rahím Khán Chalíbánlú The earlier career of this miscreant is recorded in my *Persian Revolution* Immediately after the deposition of Muhammad 'Alí, on August 8, 1909, he began to loot sundry Armenian villages in N W Persia and to massacre the inhabitants Ten days later he openly revolted against the restored Constitutional Government On August 29 he was captured by Russian troops, but was released by them on September 18 on payment of a considerable sum of money A month later he marched on Ardabíl, which was reported to have fallen into his hands on November 2 A few days later a second body of Russian troops was sent to Ardabíl, ostensibly to effect his capture, and on November 10 it was stated on the authority of the *Times* correspondent at Tihrán that £25,000 had already been expended by the Persian Government on the equipment of an army to take the field against him. This army, commanded by Yeprem Khan, the Armenian, inflicted a severe defeat upon him on December 31, 1909, and four days later had driven him back on the Russian frontier and surrounded him so thoroughly that only across that frontier could he escape The Persian Government, appealing to the explicit provisions of the Treaty of Turkmán-chay, begged the Russian Government not to permit him to take refuge across their border, they not only allowed him to do this, however, but refused his extradition on February 4, 1910, and allowed him to proceed to Elizavetpol (the ancient Ganja) where he remained for nearly a year He subsequently returned to Tabríz (about January 23, 1911) where he was ultimately put to death. His was one of the numerous flagrant cases of Russian patronage and protection accorded to Persian subjects in active revolt against their Government An illustration facing p 440 of my *Persian Revolution* shows him surrounded by a number of his followers, with his hand affectionately clasping that of a Russian Consular official, while a Russian officer stands a little distance from him on the other side

(خاطرهٔ مشئوم رحیم خان)

تفو بغیرت آن بی حقوق بی ناموس — که بعد از این همه زشتی پناه برد برو

گمانم اینکه بجز ملک روس جائی نیست — پناهگاه خسیس مردمان بی نام

رحیم خان که جهان پُر ز صیت ظلم وی است — شد از حمایت روسیه از خطر محر

ندانم از چه سبب دولتی باین عظمت — بخویش خواند این دیو سیرتان غُ

هزار حیف کز این دوستی بی هنگام — نمود دشمنی خویش را بما مجس

غبار نفرت وگرد نِفار این کردار — شد ز بحر خَزر تا کنار اِقیا

چه خوب بود بجای ضیافت و اکرام — چنین شریر ستمگار را کند مح

بدشمنان تمدّن هر آنکه دوست شود — مسلّم است ز کردار خود خورد افس

(لاهوتی کرمانشاهی)

(Translation)

Fie on the traitor renegade, outlawed and unashamed,
Who after all these evil deeds from Russia shelter claimed!
In all the world save Russia no country do I ken
Willing protection to afford to such dishonoured men
The villainies of Rahím Khán are noised o'er land and sea,
And now 'neath Russia's shelt'ring care he stands, from danger free!
I know not why so great a Power should seem to take a pride
Such human fiends of scowling men in calling to its side
Alas! by friendship thus misplaced it maketh but too plain
How great a hate for us and ours it still doth entertain!
Profound mistrust and deep disgust grow ever more and more,
And deeds like these to the Seven Seas spread from the Caspian shore
If such a tyrant vile were housed in prison it were best,
Not met with hospitable care, like some much-honoured guest
Foes of the human race like these whoever shall befriend

(25)

The following excellent poem, entitled *Ququliqu* ("Cock-a-doodle-do!") appeared in the *Nasím-i-Shimal* of December, 1910, and is signed *Máhí-gír* ("Fisherman"), perhaps on account of the allusion in the last verse to the obnoxious Fishery Concession (*shilát*) on the Persian shore of the Caspian granted to a Russian named Lianzof or Lianozoff, of which the original scope was violently extended by the *concessionnaire*, supported by his Government, to the upper waters of all the rivers of Mazandarán and Gílán discharging themselves into the Caspian

(قوقولیقو)

(۱)

میخواند خروسی سحرگاه قوقولیقو، می‌گفت که ای فرقهٔ مستان قوقولیقو،
کو بهمن و کو رستمِ دستان قوقولیقو، آوخ که خزان زد بگلستان قوقولیقو،
فریاد ز سرمای زمستان قوقولیقو،

(۲)

از سیلِ فقر شهر و وطن رو بخرابی، ما خفته و مدهوش چو مستان شرابی،
می‌گفت به مرغانِ هوا آدمِ آبی، در شهر بود قحطیِ انسان قوقولیقو،
فریاد ز سرمای زمستان قوقولیقو،

(۳)

خون گریه کند مزرعه بر حالِ دهاتی، سوزد جگرِ سنگ به احوالِ دهاتی،
عریان و برهنه همه اطفالِ دهاتی، ایوای ز بدبختیِ دهقان قوقولیقو،
فریاد ز سرمای زمستان قوقولیقو،

(6)

Alas for lands so easily lost as these have been!
Our village-children are filled with terror and fear, I ween!
In Khurásán, alas! and in Tabríz too, and eke Qazwín
Daily the Russians manœuvres hold, Coocoolicoo!
Alack and alas for the Winter's cold, Coocoolicoo!

(7)

Rouse ye, Ho! for as yet 'tis but the first of the work!
Rage like lions the hunt's toward, and who would shirk?
Quit ye as men, for in every corner a foe doth lurk!
Spurned in the dust are the roosters bold, Coocoolicoo!
A Muslim land shall the heathen hold? Coocoolicoo!

(8)

Terrible talk is heard to-day in Anzalí
Of Lianzoff's claims to the fish which haunt our rivers and sea,
In a million ways with our homes and lands he now makes free
To the sea the fisherman's woes are told, Coocoolicoo!
Alack and alas for the Winter's cold, Coocoolicoo!

(26)

The next poem is a ballad, or *tasníf* ascribed to a lady named Minára Khánim, but signed "*Hup-húp*" It is, like so many *tasnífs*, written in a very simple and colloquial style, and contains some forms (like *wásat*, for *wasita-at*, "for thee," and ***mana***, for ***mara***, "me") which belong to the colloquial speech or even to dialects

(تصنیف من کلام منارهٔ خانم)

ببه جان خواب بودم خواب دیدم ، ماه رمضان شد ببه جان ،
نان و گوشت ارزان شد ببه جان ،
خواب من دروغ بود ببه جان ، هرچه دیدم دروغ بود ببه جان ،

ننه جان خواب بودم خواب دیدم، مشروطه بپا شد ننه جان،
عیش فقرا شد ننه جان،
خواب من دروغ بود ننه جان، هرچه دیدم دروغ بود ننه جان،
ننه جون خواب بودم خواب دیدم، کوچه‌ها قشنگ است ننه جان،
شهر فرنگ است ننه جان،
خواب من دروغ بود ننه جان، هرچه دیدم دروغ بود ننه جان،
ننه جان خواب بودم خواب دیدم، حمّام تمیز است ننه جان،
شکل تبریز است ننه جان،
بار حمام خراب است ننه جان، بلدی بخواب است ننه جان،
ننه جان گریه مکن غصّه مخور، نان شکری مجرّم واست،
چادر زری مجرم واست،
تا تو فکر رخت میکنی ننه، ننه سدا بخت میکنی ننه،

(امضاء هوپ هوپ)

(*Translation*)

(1)

"Mother dear, I slept I saw a vision
Ramazan was over, Mother dear,
Everyone in clover, Mother dear!
But my dream was a delusion Mother dear!
All delusion and confusion, Mother dear!

(2)

"Mother dear, I slept, I saw a vision
The Constitution flourished, Mother dear,
All the poor were housed and nourished, Mother dear!
But my dream was a delusion, Mother dear!
All delusion and confusion, Mother dear!

(3)

"Mother dear, I slept, I saw a vision
Spacious street and splendid square, Mother dear,
Like some Frankish city rare, Mother dear!
But my dream was a delusion, Mother dear!
All delusion and confusion, Mother dear!

(4)

"Mother dear, I slept, I saw a vision
The baths were clean and sweet, Mother dear,
'Snap your fingers, stamp your feet,' Mother dear!
But my dream was a delusion, Mother dear!
All delusion and confusion, Mother dear!

(5)

"Weep not, Mother dear, I pray, nor worry
I will buy you sugar-loaves and sweets untold,
And a pretty out-door mantle stitched with gold,
For when crushed by household care, Mother dear!
You fill me with despair, Mother dear!"

(27)

The following poem, entitled *Khabar dar!* ("Look out!") and signed *Fikri-yi-Barzgar*, appeared in the *Nasím-i-Shimal* of May 11, 1911 (No 7 of the Fourth Year) Its real author is said to be Ashraf of Rasht, the editor of the paper above mentioned, and this is very probable

(خبردار!)

(۱)

از نماز با شیخ مشغولِ ذکرِ خود باش، هر کس بفکرِ خویشه تو هم بفکرِ خود باش،
روزگار هر کس مشغولِ کارِ خویش است، بلبل بنغمه خوانی عقرب بفکرِ نیش است،
تو بفکرِ بی ریش کوسه بفکرِ ریش است، هر کس بفکرِ خویشه تو هم بفکرِ خود باش،

(٢)

ای نورِ دیده بابا صحرا جریده بابا، در مدرسه شب و روز زحمت کشیده بابا
جز قیل و قالِ آخوند چیزی ندیده بابا، هرکس بفکرِ خویشه تو هم بفکرِ خود باش

(٣)

جمعی بنامِ شیخی بعضی بنامِ بابی، یک جوقه اعتدالی یک دسته انقلابی
یک طائفه شب و روز در فکرِ بیحسابی، هرکس بفکرِ خویشه تو هم بفکرِ خود باش

(٤)

بعضی بنامِ اسلام بدعت پدید کردند، از بهرِ مالِ دنیا رو بر یزید کردند
اولادِ مصطفی‌را ناحقّ شهید کردند، هرکس بفکرِ خویشه تو هم بفکرِ خود باش

(٥)

بعضی بنامِ سلطان گشتند خان و سرتیپ، القابها گرفتند بی علم و عقل و ترتیب
انباشتند از پول صندوق و کیسه و جیب، هرکس بفکرِ خویشه تو هم بفکرِ خود باش

(٦)

بعضی بنامِ ملّت اموالِ خلق بردند، بردند پولهارا در بانکها سپردند
نُقل و شراب و شمسا بالای سر خوردند، هرکس بفکرِ خویشه تو هم بفکرِ خود باش

(٧)

بعضی شتر سواره عازم سوی بخارند، بعضی میانِ مسجد مشغول در نمازند
یک دسته جنده بازند یک فرقه بچه بازند، هرکس بفکرِ خویشه تو هم بفکرِ خود باش

(۸)

جمعی باسمِ جمعه بعضی باسمِ شنبه، مانند سگ دریدند از یکدگر شکم
آخر زدند رندان آتش بپشم و پنبه، هر کس بفکرِ خویشه تو هم بفکرِ خود باش

(۹)

یک دسته شارلاتانها در طبعِ روزنامه، بعضی سفید جامه بعضی سیاه جامه
وا حسرتا که آخوند بر داشته عمامه، هر کس بفکرِ خویشه تو هم بفکرِ خود باش

(امضاء فکری برزگر)

(*Translation*)

After your prayers, O reverend Sir, to meditation turn
Since each one minds his own affair, you mind your own
    concern!

In truth in this our age each one doth mind his own affair;
The scorpion's thinking of his sting, the *bulbul* of his air,
The bearded chin of beardless cheek, the beardless chin of hair
  Since each one minds his own affair, you mind your own
    concern!

O dervish friend, my eyes' delight, at large the fields you graze,
Who once in schools and colleges did spend laborious days!
Naught know you save the lecturer's rhetorical displays,
  Since each one minds his own affair, you mind your own
    concern!

One calls himself a Shaykhí, one calls himself a Bábí,
One faction *I'tidálí*, one party *Inqilábí*[1],
While in "self-help" another lot unto themselves a Law be;
  Since each one minds his own affair, you mind your own
    concern!

[1] The rival sects of the Bábís and the Shaykhís are well known to all students of modern Persian history The political parties named *I'tidálí* ("Moderate") and *Inqilábí* ("Revolutionary") took definite shape after the opening of the Second National Assembly in 1909.



The Boy Colonel declines to have his bath
(From *Mulla Nasru'd-Din*, Year III, No. 5, Feb. 16, 1908)

Some in the name of Islám foul innovations breed;
Through love of worldly wealth some turn their faces to Yazíd,
And by their hand at his command the Prophet's children bleed[1],
    Since each one minds his own affair, you mind your own concern!

By Royal Warrant this one's a Colonel, that a Knight
Their titles and their honours nor reason have nor right,
While purse and pouch and pocket they fill with silver bright
    Since each one minds his own affair you mind your own concern!

Some in the Nation's name the wealth of others strive to gain,
That in the Bank their balance may ever grow amain,
That they may eat the choicest meat and drink the best champagne!
    Since each one minds his own affair, you mind your own concern!

Some mount the patient camel and thus to Mecca fare,
Some in the middle of the mosque are occupied with prayer,
While some pursue the women some seek their joys elsewhere
    Since each one minds his own affair, you mind your own concern!

One takes the name of Friday one Saturday they call,
These fight like cats and dogs and on each other's vitals fall,
The fire these wantons kindle burns cotton wool and all!
    Since each one minds his own affair you mind your own concern!

Some charlatans in journals long articles indite,
And though the garb they don is black, the sheets they use are white,
And now, alas! his turban casts aside each reverend wight[2]!
    Since each one minds his own affair, you mind your own concern!

[1] The Umayyad Yazíd ibn Mu'awiya, the slayer of al-Husayn, the Prophet's grandson, is the Pontius Pilate of Persia. The allusion here is probably to the incident described on pp. 117–118 of my *Persian Revolution*.

[2] In consternation at the "blasphemous" innovations of the Press.

(28)

The following poem, signed Sayyid Najaf-i-*Banná* ("the Builder"), appeared on May 11, 1911, in No 7 of the Fourth Year of the *Nasím-i-Shimál*

(۱)

این روزنامه بر همه ایران مبارک است، بر اهلِ رشت و مردمِ دهقان مبارک است،
بر زارعِ گرسنه و عریان مبارک است، امسال از برای فقیران مبارک است،

(۲)

فرخنده باد سال به اصناف خون جگر، فرخنده باد سالِ فقیرانِ رنج بر،
فرخنده باد سالِ غریبانِ در بدر، بر ساکنانِ گوشهٔ زندان مبارک است،

(۳)

بر زارعانِ مشهد و تبریز و اصفهان، زحمت کشانِ خطهٔ شیراز و بهبهان،
محنت برانِ طارم و قزوین و طالقان، بر مفلسانِ خمسه و زنجان مبارک است،

(٤)

بر لنگرود و لاهیج و شلمان و اَشْکور، ماسال و شفت و فومن و بسحان و پیشور،
از انزلی و لَشْته نشا تا به رودِ سر، آن برگِ توت و حاصلِ نوغان مبارک است،

(٥)

رستیم از کمندِ مظالم هزار شکر، جستیم از تعدّیِ ظالم هزار شکر،
گفتند جاهلان همه عالم هزار شکر، مشروطه از برای مسلمان مبارک است،

(٦)

ساقی بریز شربتِ شیرین بجامِ ما، مطرب بکوب طبلِ تبارک بنامِ ما،
بلبل بخوان که گشت مبارک علامِ ما، تا این علامِ سبزِ خیابان مبارک است،

(٧)

بار ابتدای کشمکش و قال وقیل شد، تحویلِ سالِ تازه به تسگور تبدیل شد،
هنگامِ انتخابِ جنابِ وکیل شد، این انتخاب تازه بگیلان مبارک است،

(٨)

دعوا نمی کنیم دگر بهر هیچ و پوچ، دیگر نمی زنیم بهم کلّه مثلِ قوچ،
سالداتِ روس سر ز قزوین نموده کوچ، این مژده از برای خراسان مبارک است،

(٩)

من بعد دختران همه صاحب هنر شوند، در مکتبِ علوم همه بهره ور شوند،
اندر حقوقِ علم شریک پسر شوند، این اشتراکِ عالَمِ نسوان مبارک است،

(١٠)

جاری شد آبهای عدالت ز چشمه سار، دیگر نمی دهند بما ظالمان فشار،
آورد شاه تازه ز امریک مستشار، این مستشارِ تازه بطهران مبارک است،

(١١)

مشغولِ عیش و نوش جوانانِ مالدار، قربانِ زلفِ سرکجِ رقّاصِ خالدار،
از یک طرف کمانچه و آوازه خوان و تار، آن ماچ و موجِ نصفِ شبِ خان مبارک است،

(١٢)

از یك طرف گرسنه فقیرانِ لات و لوت، محتاج روز و شب همه بر قوتِ لا یموت،
اطفالشان برهنه و لاغر چو عنکبوت، آن اشكِ شور و آن دلِ بریان مبارك است،

(١٣)

ایران بود همیشه ز آرای ای نسیم، آمد ز غیب نصرتِ رحمانی ای نسیم،
هرچند خوار گشته مسلمانی ای نسیم، با هو ظهورِ حجّتِ امکان مبارك است،

(امضاء سیّد محمد نسّا)

The optimistic tone of this poem is partly due to the withdrawal of the Russian troops (except 80 Cossacks, retained as a "Consular Guard") from Qazwín on March 13–15, 1911, alluded to in stanza 8, and partly to the arrival at Anzalí on the very day of the poem's publication of Mr Morgan Shuster and the other American advisers, alluded to in stanza 10 This poem is quite easy, and I have not thought it necessary to add a translation, but the following observations may facilitate its comprehension The newspaper *Nasím-i-Shimal* boasts itself the champion of the poor artisans and peasants, and then gives a long list of the places in Persia where its advent is hailed with joy Those mentioned in stanza 3 are towns of importance in various parts of Persia, while the twelve villages enumerated in stanza 4 are all in the Caspian provinces of Gílán and Mázandarán The *Tanguz Yil* ("Year of the Pig") mentioned in stanza 7 is one of the cycle of twelve years, each called after some animal, brought into Persia by the Tartars (*tangúz* in Oriental Turkish is equivalent to the Ottoman Turkish *domuz*) The translation of stanza 9, which may be of interest to feminists is as follows —

"*Henceforth all the girls shall be educated,*
All shall have their share in the Colleges of Science,
They shall be equal with the boys in their rights of learning
Blessed is this participation of the World of Women!"

Stanzas 11 and 12 contrast the luxury and dissipation of the wealthy nobles with the misery of the poor and their half-starved children The last stanza expresses confidence that God's help will keep Persia for the Persians, however gloomy the outlook may be

The two following poems both appeared in the *Nasím-i-Shimál* of July 30, 1911 (No 10 of the Third Year), and both refer to the recent attempt (July 19, 1911) of the ex-Sháh Muhammad 'Alí (aided and abetted by the Russians) to recover his lost throne, an attempt which was ended on September 5 by what the *Times* correspondent described as "a decisive and brilliant victory of the government troops, the execution of *Arshadu'd Dawla*, the ex-Sháh's best and most devoted general and the flight of the ex-Sháh himself on a Russian ship on September 7

(29)

The first of these two poems, entitled "Congratulation" (*Tabrík*) is a very short one and runs as follows

(۱)

دیدی به استراباد آمد بلای ناگاه، یعنی که سر بر آورد آن مستبد خودخواه،
خوب اتّفاق کردند این فرقه‌های همراه، زین اتّفاق ملّی به به تبارك الله!

(۲)

هم اتّفاق دارند هم مسلک ترقّی، از ارمنی مسلمان در دعوت ترقّی،
عرفند اهل ایران در لذّت ترقّی، آخر ز غصّه دق کرد آن رس پهن گمراه
زین اتّفاق ملّی به به تبارك الله،

(۳)

هم حیل اعتدالی هم فرقهٔ دموکرات، دست برادری را دادند از مساوات،
ایران و مستبدین هیهات ثمّ هیهات، عادل به آسمان شد ظالم فتاد در چاه،
زین اتّفاق احزاب به به تبارك الله،

(*Translation*)

(1)

Behold o'er Astarábád what sudden plague is spread,
For there that selfish despot once more doth rear his head
How well divergent factions to meet this plague combine!
God bless the Nation's Union! God bless this effort fine!

(2)

All, all combine together, for Progress is their quest,
And Muslim and Armenian each strives to do his best,
Absorbed are all the Persians in this endeavour blessed
With hope deferred is wasted this vagrant libertine!
God bless the Nation's Union! God bless this effort fine!

(3)

The Democrats and Moderates, like one fraternity,
Unite their bands and join their hands in all equality
Persia and rule of Despots—remote may these two be!
The just are now exalted, the tyrants loud repine,
God bless the Nation's Union! God bless this effort fine!

(30)

The next poem, described as a *rajaz* (a term applied to heroic, or in this case mock-heroic verse) is supposed to express the feelings of the ex-Sháh Muhammad 'Alí on beholding the failure of his efforts to regain the throne which for two years and a half he so unworthily filled

(رجز)

منم مرد مشهور بی ننگ و عار،   که بودم همیشه بخواب و خُمار،
اگرچه مرا گنده گشته شکم،   ولی گردم آب شد دبه‌وار،
اگر سوی طهران بیایم گذر،   کنم حمله‌را شقّه قصاب‌وار،
همه خلق‌را از صغیر و کبیر،   به توپ (شرپنل) ببندم قطار،
• ببُرّم سر نائب السّلطنه،   که کار مرا کرده از عقل زار،

بر آرم بچاقوی دلت برون،   دو چشمان احمد شه نامدار،
ز سردار اسعد بدرّم جگر،   سپهدار را می کنم پار پار،
همان پارلمان را ببندم بتوپ،   که حلوای مشروطه شد زهر مار،
همه حلو را چون شپش می کُشم،   بتحریك همسایهٔ با بکار،
وکلان ببندم بیك ریسمان،   وزیران نمایم همه تار و مار،
نهادم سرم را بروی زمین،   شدم غایب از چشم ملّت چو مار،
گرفتم بعنوانِ باجِ سبیل،   بسالی ز حلق اشرفی صد هزار،
طلاها و یاقوت و دریای نور،   بشد صرف در بزم عیش و قمار،
برای تماشای (مانسکه) من،   زدم تلك و دائره حلقه دار،
چو اندر (اودس) پولها تَه کشید،   چه قاصد به بلژیك کردم گذار،
فقط اسم خودرا نمودم عوض،   محمّد حسین زند کامل عِیار،
اگرچه نبود نام من ممدلی،   دلی بستم من منم عقل دار،
کشم نهر از خون ملّت روان،   از این استراباد تا سبزوار،
محلّل روان شد سوی اردبل،   دریغا که با وی نشد بخت یار،
یکی ارشد الدّوله خون لاك پُشت،   بشد در ارُومیّه مشغول کار،
خودم در (گُمش تپّه) ظاهر شدم،   که ویران کنم جمله شهر و دیار،
بدل نُقص باشد مرا از سه جا،   ز تبریز و گیلان و از بختیار،
خصوصاً ز تبریز ویران شده،   که ستّار زد بر وجودم شرار،
مرا گریه گیرد که در جنگ پارك،   چرا یك نفر زنده کرده فرار،
اگر شهر طهران شود جلوه گر،   برون آرم از اهل طهران دمار،
ز بقّال و نانوا و سبزی فروش،   ز قصاب و عطّار و از خشکبار،
ز شهری و دهقانی و رهگذر،   چه از پیر مرد و چه از شیرخوار،

ز نجّار و آهنگر و کفش دوز، ز بزّاز و زرگر و خورده کار،
جهان خون بریزم که روی زمین، زند موج قرمز چو گلهای نار،
ولی بسته دستِ قضا دست من، شکسته است پُشْت مرا روزگار،
فقیرم فقیرم فقیرم فقیر، ندارم ندارم ندارم ندار،
شکم ای شکم ای شکم ای شکم، تو کردی مرا اینچنین خوار و زار،
بهادر بهادر سلامٌ علیک، کجائی ندادم برس ای هوار،
شنیدم که سردار محْیی ز ری، بمازندران می شود رهسپار،
یقین دارم این دفعه با این شکم، معلّق زنان میروم روی دار،
نه در کیسه پول و نه در کلّه عقل،
نه پای گریز و نه راه فرار،

(Translation)

(1) 'I am that famous, shameless libertine
Whose days and nights were passed twixt sleep and wine
Although my belly daily larger grows,
My strength is waning like the melting snows
Could I to Tihrán once an entrance gain
Its people butcher-like I'd cleave in twain
And its inhabitants, both great and small,
With shot and shrapnel I would dose them all!
(5) As for the Regent[1], off his head should go,
Who caused my projects to miscarry so,
And with my pen-knife out the eyes I'd bring
Of Sultan Ahmad Sháh, the reigning king[2],
Out the Sardár-i-As'ad's heart I'd take,
And the Sipahdár into mince meat make,
The Parliament with cannons I would shake,
For freedom's balm to me's a poisoned snake,

[1] Mírzá Abu'l Qásim Khán *Násiru'l Mulk*, elected Regent (*Náibu's Saltana*) on September 23, 1910, immediately after the death of his predecessor *Azudu'l-Mulk*

[2] He succeeded to the throne on July 18, 1909, on his father's deposition

And, by my worthless Northern Friend's advice,
I'd crush the folk, as though they were but lice,
(10) The Deputies to one long rope I'd tie,
And topsy-turvy turn the Ministry
Now in the dust my head is bowed, and I
Glide like a serpent from the Nation's eye
A hundred thousand guineas in a year
I wrung as 'road-tax' from the people's fear
The 'Sea of Light[1],' gold, rubies beyond price
I squandered on my drinking bouts and dice
To please my Russian mistress when she's glum
I play the tambourine and beat the drum
(15) How in Odessa when my funds ran low,
To Belgium sped my agents, all men know
Only to change my name I did decide—
'Muhammad Husayn, rascal double dyed'
Although the vulgar call me '*Mamdali*'
I'm not '*dali*'[2], in wits few equal me!
The people's blood in streams I'll cause to pour
From Astarábád unto Sabzawár!
To Ardabíl *Mujallal* swift doth hie,
Alas! Ill-fortune bears him company!
(20) *Arshadu'd-Dawla*, like a tortoise slow,
At Urmiya about my work doth go
My flag at Gyumush-tepé I display,
Hoping in ruins town and land to lay
Thought of three foes my heart with hate doth freeze—
The Bakhtiyaris, Gílan and Tabriz
But most of all Tabriz—that ruined land
Where Sattár Khán this conflagration planned
I weep to think that one escaped alive
Of those my foes who in the Park did strive[3]

[1] This celebrated diamond (the *Daryá-yi Núr*) is the companion gem to the still more celebrated *Kúh-i-núr* ("Mountain of Light")

[2] "*Mamdali*" is the vulgar contraction of *Muhammad 'Alí* The meaning of the Turkish word "*dali*" (or "*deli*") is "mad"

[3] This alludes to the conflict of August 7, 1910 in the Atábak's Park at Tihrán, on the occasion of the disarming of the *fidá'ís*

Should Tihrán once again become my share
Not one of all its people will I spare
Of grocer, baker and of caterer,
Of druggist, butcher and of fruiterer,
Townsman and peasant, toilers without rest,
Of aged men and children at the breast,
Of blacksmith, joiner, carpenter therewith,
Of draper and of pedlar and goldsmith,
The blood in such wise on the earth I'll shed
That it shall form a sea with waves of red!
But cruel fate has tied my hands, alack!
And fortune sinister doth break my back!
I'm poor, I'm poor, I'm poor, I'm poor indeed,
I have not, have not, have not, aught I need!
O belly, belly, belly, belly mine,
'Tis you who cause me thus to grieve and pine!
To thee, Bahádur, greetings do I send,
Where art thou? Help me, O my trusty friend!
Sardár Muhiyy, I hear, hath marched from Ray,
And wends towards Mázandarán his way
This time, for all my bulging paunch, I feel
That on the gibbet I shall dance a reel!
With empty purse and brains of sense bereft,
I've neither foot to fly nor refuge left!"

(31)

The following poem, like the last, is supposed to express the feelings of the ex-Sháh Muhammad 'Alí after the failure of his attempt to regain the throne in August, 1911 It appeared in the *Nasím-i-Shimál* (No 12 of the Third Year) on September 11, 1911 It contains a certain number of slang or colloquial expressions, especially in the last *bayt* of each stanza, *e g* *namí-shé* (= *namí-shawad*), *Mamdalí* (= *Muhammad 'Alí*), *Shá* (for *Sháh*), *mí-khád* (for *mí-khwahad*), *mí-khám* (for *mí-khwáham*), etc. I have not thought it necessary to add a translation of this poem.

(زبان حال ممدلی)

(۱)

ای فلك این چه بساطی است که چیدستی تو،   چه زبردستی تو،
دلِ اعداء وطن‌را زچه‌ها خستی تو،   چه‌قدر پستی تو،
عهد با هموطنان بستی و شکستی تو،   گوئیا مستی تو،
کمترین ممدلیم، داروغهٔ ابزلیم، نره حلوا نمیشه، ممدلی بگ شا نمیشه،

(۲)

ممدلی نکته نقول و عزلِ روس نمود،   ترك ناموس نمود،
خویش‌را در نظرِ اهلِ وطن لوس نمود،   کار معکوس نمود،
هوس حمله تخت جم و کاوس نمود،   ملل پا بوس نمود،
کلّه اش تاج میخاد، باج ز لیلاخ میخاد، نره حلوا نمیشه، ممدلی بگ شا نمیشه،

(۳)

ممدلی اشك همی ریخت مثالِ باران،   از فراقِ یاران،
ترکمانها همه کردند فرار از میدان،   همه در خون غلطان،
هدفِ تیرِ بلا گشت رشید السّلطان،   لعن حقّ بر شیطان،
گولِ شیطان خوردم، آبروی خود بردم، حرفه شولا نمیشه ممدلی بگ شا نمیشه،

(۴)

تا ز روسیه در این خاك سرازیر شدم،   طعمهٔ شیر شدم،
خیروام قطع شد از غصّه زمین گیر شدم،   همچو تصویر شدم،
ارشد الدّوله چو شد کشته زجان سیر شدم،   خود بخود پیر شدم،
بشکسته کمرم، خاك دو عالم بسرم، نره حلوا نمیشه، ممدلی بگ شا نمیشه،

(٥)

طرفه سردارِ طرمسد که مُحیی نام است، فتح بر وی رام است،
عیاری است که در معرکه چون صمصام است، ضیغم و ضرغام است،
نرم آمد بگریزید که قتلِ عام است، ممدلی گمنام است،
بعدی آخر چون شد، مسئله دیگرگون شد، تره حلوا نمیشه، ممدلی تگ شما نمیشه،

(٦)

موسم بود جمیع وزرارا بکشم، وکلارا بکشم،
دستخط پاره نمایم علمارا بکشم، عقلارا بکشم،
جمله اصناف و عموم فقرارا بکشم، عرفارا بکشم،
مالِ مولارا میخام، جنه و شولارا میخام، تره حلوا نمیشه، ممدلی تگ شما نمیشه،

Of the persons alluded to in this poem, *Rashidu's-Sultán* was defeated by the Bakhtiyárís at Fírúzkuh on August 11, 1911, and was said to have been shot or to have died of his wounds two days later *Arshadu'd-Dawla*, the best and most capable of the ex-Sháh's generals, was taken prisoner and shot by Yeprem Khán, the great Armenian general of the Constitutionalists, on September 5, 1911 A very graphic account of this event, by Mr W A Moore, appeared in the *Times* a day or two later The *Sardár-i-Muhiy* was the real leader of the Rasht army in the summer of 1909 Photographs of both him and Yeprem Khán will be found facing p 436 of my *Persian Revolution* The other three persons mentioned in stanza 5 are well known chiefs of the Bakhtiyarís

(32)

The following poem appeared in the *Charand Parand* column of the *Ṣur-i-Isráfíl* (No 24) for February 27, 1908 It is entitled *Ru'asá wa Millat* (" the Leaders and the Nation "), and is difficult to understand fully, being written in the language employed by mothers in speaking to their small children Of all the poems

here cited it is the most remote from the ordinary literary language The "leaders of the people" are, apparently, represented as an ignorant mother, and the Nation as a sickly child, who finally expires in its mother's arms in consequence of her mismanagement

(رؤسا و ملّت)

خاک بسرم! بچه بهوش آمده،   بخواب ننه یکسر دو گوش آمده،
گریه نکن لولو میآد میخوره،   گربه میآد بزبزی‌را می‌بره،
اهه! اهه! آخر ننه چته؟ گُشنَمَه،   بترکی! این همه خوردی کمه؟
چخ چخ سگه! نازی پیشی پیش پیش!   لالای جونم گُلَم باشی کیش کیش!
از گشنگی ننه دارم جون میدم،   گریه نکن! فردا بهت نون میدم
ای وای ننه! جونم داره در میره!   گریه نکن! دیزه داره سر میره،
سوختم آخش! ننه بس چطو بچ شده،   تُف تُف جونم ننه بین ممه اخ شده،
سرم چرا اینقده چرخ می زنه،   توی سرت شپشه جا می کَنَه،
چچچچ جونم چت شد؟ هاق هاق!   وای خاله! چشماش چرا افتاد بطاق،
آخ نفسم بیا ننه بین سرد شده،   رنگش چرا (خاک بسرم) زرد شده
وای بچم رفت زکف رود رود،   ماند بمن آه و اسف رود رود!!

(*Translation*)

(1) Dust on my head[1]! The child has woken up! Go to sleep, my pet the Bogey man[2] is coming!
Don't cry! The ogre[3] will come and eat you up! The cat will come and take away your kiddy[4]!

[1] This expression is equivalent to "Botheration take me!"

[2] Literally "the two eared one head," an imaginary monster with which children are intimidated

[3] *Lulú* is another kind of bogey

[4] *Buzbuzí* is anything such as a pet animal or a toy, to which a child is much attached

Oh, oh! What ails you[1], my pet? "I am hungry" [you say][2]? May you burst[3]! You have eaten all this; is it too little[4]?
Get out[5], dog! Pussy, puss, puss, come here! Hushaby, darling! You are my rose! Hush, hush!
(5) "Mamma! I am ready to die with hunger!" Don't cry! To-morrow I will give you bread!
"O dear, Mamma! My life is ready to leave me!" Don't cry! The pot is just on the boil!
"O my hand! See, it is as cold as ice!" Fie, fie, my Soul! See, the breast is dry[6]!
"Why does my head spin so?" [Because] the lice are digging holes in your head!
Akh-kh-kh! What ails you, my Soul? *Háq, háq*[7]! O my Aunt[8]! Why are its eyes turned up to the ceiling?
(10) Come here! Alas, see, its body also has become cold! Dust on my head! Why has its colour turned so pale?
(11) Woe is me! My child is gone from my hands! Alas, alas! To me there remain but sighs and grief! Alas, alas[9]!"

(33)

I do not know whether or where the following poem was published, but its title, "On the departure of Mr Shuster from Persia," sufficiently fixes its date as the latter part of the year 1911 Mr Shuster's dismissal was demanded by the Russian Government on November 29 of that year and he handed over his charge to Mr Cairns on January 7, 1912, and left Ṭihrán four days later The poem is by 'Árif of Qazwín

[1] *Chité? = chíst at*, "What is to thee?" "What ails thee?"
[2] *Gushnama = gurasna am* [3] = بطرکی [4] *Kam é = kam ast*
[5] *Chikh* ("get out!") is probably Turkish from the verb *chiqmaq* (*chikhmaq*)
[6] Persian mothers, when they wish to wean their babies, smear the nipple with some black or bitter substance (such as opium) to make the child recoil from it. Speaking of this they say, *Memé akh shuda* ("the nipple has gone sour")
[7] *Háq, háq* is an onomatopoeic word indicating sobbing
[8] This is the literal rendering of *Wáy, Khála!*—an exclamation used by Persian women in a manner similar to the corresponding English vulgarism
[9] The exclamation "*Rúd, rud!*" is used by women in lamenting the bad condition or the death of an only and much loved child



[illegible]

England (L) and Russia (R) endeavour to drive out Mr W. Morgan Shuster the American Treasurer-General of Persia.
From No. [illegible] 1911 [illegible]

در باب حرکت مسیو شُستر از ایران

(۱)

نگ آن خانه که مهمان ز سر خوان برود، جان نثارش کن و مگذار که مهمان برود
گر رود شستر از ایران رود ایران بر باد، ای جوانان مگذارید که ایران برود[1]

(۲)

ند مسلمانی ما بین وزیران تقسیم، هرکه تقسیمی خود کرد بدشمن تقدیم
حزبی اندر طلبت در سر یک رأی مقیم، کافرم ار بگذارم که ایمان برود

(۳)

شتِ دزدی شده امروز درین ملک وزیر، تو درین مملکت امروز خبیری و بصیر
ست بر دامنت آویخته یک مشت فقیر، تو اگر رفتی ازین مملکت عنوان برود

(٤)

د لیالی دگر از حوصله پیمانهٔ ما، دزد خواهد بُرمُحتی برد خانهٔ ما
نگ تاریخی عالم شود افسانهٔ ما، بگذارم اگر شُستر از ایران برود

(٥)

گِ چوپان شده با گرگ چو لیلی مجنون، پاسبان گله امروز شبانی است جبون
بدست خود آن کعبهٔ دل کن مکون، یار مگذار کزین خانهٔ ویران برود

(٦)

مرو گر برود جان و سر و هستی ما، کور شد دیدهٔ بدخواه ز همدستی ما
فرقت بجماری بخدد مستی ما، نالهٔ عارف ازین درد بکیوان برود

[1] As adapted for singing, the word برود is repeated at the end of each line where it occurs, and the word جیجیر at the end of the other lines, while the following refrain is repeated at the end of each stanza —

بجسم مرده جانی تو جانِ یک جهانی، تو گنج شایگانی، تو عمرِ جاودانی،
خدا خدا خدا کند بمانی، خدا خدا کند بمانی،

(Translation)

(1)

Shame on the host whose guest unfed doth from the table rise!
Rather than this should happen, make thy life his sacrifice!
Should Shuster fare from Persia forth, Persia is lost in sooth
O let not Persia thus be lost, if ye be men in truth!

(2)

Behold, these Ministers of ours[1] our Muslimhood divide,
And each unto our common foe his portion doth confide,
One party still[2] in unison demands that thou should'st stay,
We're naught but heathens if we let our Faith thus slip away!

(3)

To-day a gang of thieves become the guardians of our land
In all this Kingdom thou alone dost see and understand!
Close clinging to thy skirts a band of suppliants are we,
For, should'st thou go, our Country's name, alas! will go with thee!

(4)

Our cup is full unto the brim, our measure overflows,
Our homes are meanly filched away by base and cruel foes!
And if we suffer Shuster now to leave our Persian land
Eternal infamy our name in history shall brand!

(5)

The wolf and shepherd's dog are one like Laylá and Majnún[3],
A cowardly herdsman guards the flock and will betray it soon
O what creative energy our Hearts' Exemplar[4] showed!
Let not our faithful guardian quit our desolate abode!

(6)

O leave us not, although our life and thought are merged in night!
The eyes of those who wish us ill grow blind when we unite
But, left by thee, the banquet's glee turns to reaction drear,
And thus it is that 'Árif's wail doth reach to Saturn's sphere[5]!

[1] *i e* the Cabinet who effected the dissolution of the *Majlis* in December, 1911

[2] Presumably the so called "Democrats," who were the patriotic party

[3] Laylá and Majnun are the typical lovers of Eastern romance

[4] The "*Ka'ba* of hearts" is that to which men's hearts turn as the Faithful turn towards Mecca "*Kun fa yakún*" ("'Be! and it is") is God's Creative Word.

[5] *i e* the seventh and highest heaven, which is the "Sphere of Saturn."



The Poet 'Árif of Qazwín

(34)

The following *qasída*, entitled "A Critical Tribute to Sir Edward Grey," appeared in the Calcutta *Hablu'l-Matín* of November 11, 1912, and is by the poet *Bahár* of Mashhad, entitled *Maliku'sh-Shu'ará* ("the King of poets")

(خطاب سر ادوارد گری ملك هديّهٔ ناقدانه)

سوی لندن گذر ای پاك نسیم سحری سخنی از من بر گو به سر ادوارد گری
کای خردمند وزیری که بپرورده جهان چون تو دستور خردمند و وزیر هنری
نقشهٔ پطر بر فکر تو نقشی بر آب رای بیزمارك بر رای تو رائی سپری
ز تولون جیش ناپلیون نگذشتی گر بود بر فراز هرمان نام تو در جلوه گری
• داشتی پاریس اگر عهد تو در کف نشدی سوی الزاس و لورن لشکر المان سفری
انگلیس از تو میخواست در امریك مدد بسته میشد به واشنگتن رهِ پرخاشگری
با کماندر چیف اگر فرّ تو بودی همراه به نوبر بسته شدی سخت رهِ حمله وری
ور به مجبوری پلتیكِ تو بُد رهبرِ روس شد از ژاپون خجل کروپاتکین کمری
بود اگر فکرِ تو با عائلهٔ مانچو یار انقلابیّون بر شاه نگشتند جری
، ور نُبدی رای تو دایر بحیات ایران این همه ناله نمی ماند بدون اثری
مثل است اینکه چو بر مرد شود تیره جهان آن کند کش نه بکار آید از و کارگری
تو بدین دانش افسوس که چون بیخردان کردی آن کار که افسوس خر از وی ثمری
بر گشودی درِ صد ساله فرو بستهٔ هند بر رخِ روس و نترسیدی از در بدری
بچهٔ گرگ در آغوش بپروردی و نیست این مماشاة جز از بیخودی و بیخبری
* بیخودانه بتمنّای زبردست حریف در نهادی سر تسلیم زهی خیره سری *
اندران عهد که با روس ببستی زین پیش غبن ها بود و بدیدی تو ز کوته نظری

تو خود از تبّت و ایران و ز افغانستان، ساختی پیش ره خصم سرای سه دری،
تو ز موصل بگشودی ره آن تا زابل، ور ره تبّت تسلیم شدی تا به هری،
زین سپس بهر نگهداری این هر سه طریق، نیم ملیار قشون باید بحری و بری،
بیش از فایدت هند اگر گردد صرف، عاقبت فایدتی نیست بجز خون جگری،
انگلیس آن ضرری را که ازین پیمان بُرد، تو بدانستی و داند بدویّ و حضری،
نه همین زیر پی روس شود ایران پست، بلکه افغانی ویران شود و کاشغری،
ور همی گوئی روس از سر پیمان برود، رَوْ بتاریخ نگر تا که عجائب نگری،
در سر نفع سیاسی بکند پیمان کار، این به من گویم کاین هست ز طبع بشری،
خاصّه چون روس که او شیفته باشد بر هند، همچو شاهی که بود شیفته بر کلک دری،
ورنه این روس ز ملک بوطه چرا در ایران، راند قزّاق و نهاد افسر بیدادگری،
در خراسان که مهش ره روِ هندست چرا، کرد این مایه قشون بی سببی راهبری،
تبه‌را از چه بنا کرد و چرا آخرِ کار، کرد ستوده جهان کار بدان مشتهری،
سپه روس ز تبریز کنون تا به سرخس، بیش از بیست هزارند چو نیکو شمری،
حمله گر مشرقِ ما امن بود تا بشمال، سپه روس چرا مانده بدین بی ثمری،
گرچه خود بی ثمری نیست که این حسنِ گزین، سفری کردن خواهند بقصد ماموری،
سیر ایشان هند است و تماشاشان هند، هند خواهند ولی نرم بسان خزری،
ویژه گر پای سمساری تا از خطِ روس، خطِّ آهن سوی هند کند رهسپری،
بعدو خطِّ ترن ره‌را نزدیک کند، تا تو دیگر بروی راه بدین پُر خطری،
سدِّ بس معتبری ایران بُد در رهِ هند، وه که بر داشته شد سدّ بدین معتبری،
باد نفرین بمعاهدت که لجاحت بر داشت، پرده از کار و فرو بست رخ پر هنری،

بلجاج و بعرض کردی کاری که بدو، طعنه زند عرب دشتی و ترك تتری،
حیف از آن خاطر دانای تو و رای رزین، که درین مسئله رد ببهده خودرا بکری،
زهی آن خاطر دانای رزین تو زهی،
فری آن فکر توانای متین تو فری،

(ملك الشعراء بهار)

(*Translation*)

To London speed, O breeze of dawning day,
Bear this my message to Sir Edward Grey
To thee in skill, wise Councillor of State,
Ne'er did the world produce a peer or mate!
Great Peter's schemes to thine were shifting sand,
And weak by thine the plans that Bismarck planned
Ne'er from Toulon Napoleon's hosts had gone
If on the Pyramids thy name had shone
Had Paris been in league with thee, in vain
The German hosts had swamped Alsace-Lorraine
Had England 'gainst the States sought help from thee
No Washington had won them victory
Had thy prestige companioned England's arms
Ne'er had the Boers caused England such alarms
Would Kuropatkin's hosts before Japan
Had fled had he been guided by thy plan?
Had the Manchus been aided by thy thought
The rebels ne'er against their king had fought
And had thy schemes included Persia's life
Not fruitless had remained this storm and strife
"When fortune frowns on man," the proverb goes,
"His wisest act no good resultant shows"
Alas that thou, for all thy wits, hast wrought
A deed which save regret can yield thee naught!
For India's gates, closed for a hundred years
To Russia now you open without fears

You nurse the wolf-cub in your arms a deed
Which folly prompts, and which to grief will lead
To this o'erbearing partner you submit
And bow your head, bereft of sense and wit
Your pacts with Russia made in time gone by
Brought loss unseen by your short-sighted eye
In Afghanistán, Persia and Tibet
Before your foe a three-doored wall you've set
Mosul to Sistan's now an open way
Herat, Tibet they claim nor fear your "Nay!"
Henceforth this three-fold road to watch, indeed,
A million men on land and sea you'll need
India's advantage if you squander so
Naught will you reap except remorse and woe
You knew not, though both town and desert knew,
What hurt to England would from this accrue
Not Persia only feels the Russian squeeze,
'Tis felt by Afgháns and by Kashgharís!
"Russia her pact will keep," you answer me
Her records read, and wondrous things you'll see!
Not I but human nature tells you plain
That pacts weigh naught compared with present gain,
The more since Russia longs for India still
As longs the hawk for partridge on the hill,
Else why did she o'er Persian lands let loose
Her Cossack hordes to crown her long abuse?
Why in Khurásán, India's broad highway,
Do all these troops of hers unmotived stay?
Such mischief wherefore hath she wrought, and why
Done deeds redounding to her infamy?
From Tabríz to Sarakhs her soldiers dwell,
Some twenty thousand, if you count them well
From North to East our land all peaceful lay
Why without reason do the Russians stay?
Reason, forsooth! The Russians there remain
Waiting for some more glorious campaign
With India for its goal this goal they crave,
These pampered pirates of the Caspian Wave!

The more so should you culpably delay
Till Russian rails to India find their way
These rails shall bring thy foeman near to thee
Avoid such roads so fraught with jeopardy!
(35) 'Twas Persia barred the road woe worth the day
Which swept this ancient barrier away!
O cursed obstinacy, which did raise
This veil, and set the feet in such a maze!
Headstrong and rash you wrought a deed of shame
Which stolid Turk and vagrant Arab blame
Woe to that judgement cool, that reason bright,
Which now have put you in so dire a plight!
All hail that judgement, hail that insight rare
Of which, men say you hold so large a share!

(35)

The following poem, entitled "An offering of thanks and welcome to the honoured and revered guest" is a curious protest against the intrusion of Germany (real or supposed) into Persian affairs, for, by the generality of Persians, Germany was favourably regarded as friendly to Islam and hostile to Russia. It appeared in No 17 of the illustrated comic paper *Azarbayjan* on October 11, 1907

(عرض شکر و خیر مقدم بمهمان معزز و محترم)
(قدمت خیر مقدم اهلاً و مرحباً بك یا المانیا)

مهمان تازه واردِ ایران خوش آمدی، بالای چشم جای تو آلمان خوش آمدی،
ایران بخوان مائد و بیگانگان ضیف، ناخوانده مهمان سرِ این خوان خوش آمدی،
صبحِ وصال شکر خدا را نمود رخ، آمد بسر لیالی هجران خوش آمدی
از بهرِ صید مرغ دلِ عاشقانِ زار، در دست دام و دانه بدامان خوش آمدی،
با دعوی حمایت اسلام و مسلمین، گشتی دخیل حوزهٔ دزدان خوش آمدی،
لیکن چو بردهاند حریفان هر آنچه بود، ترسم شود نصیبِ تو حرمان خوش آمدی،

اسلام بود بیکس و بی دادرس کنون، صد شکر یافت چون تو نگهبان خوش آمدی،
من نیك می شناسمت ای رندِ پُر فسون، احسنت خوانِ مکرِ تو شیطان خوش آمدی،
پیوسته شامل است باسلام لطفِ تو، ما عاجز از لوازم شکران خوش آمدی،
دادی ز حمله دستِ محبّت بدستِ ترك، خواندی بگوشش آیهٔ خُسران خوش آمدی،
و آنگه باسم یاری سلطان ملك فارس، گشتی سوی ز طعمه شتابان خوش آمدی،
از صدمهٔ که دید مراکش ز چون تو دوست، هرگز ندیده بود ز عدوان خوش آمدی،
فارغ ز کار آن دو نگردیده بی درنگ، گشتی بمرزِ فارس نمایان خوش آمدی،
از بهرِ سرتراشی یك مُشتِ بی گناه، در کف گرفته تیغكِ بُرّان خوش آمدی،
زیدانه با بهانهٔ دار الفنون و بانك، نائل شدی بمقصد پنهان خوش آمدی،
بانگِ فغان هنوز ز ما میرسد بچرخ، از دست بانكِ روس و بریطان خوش آمدی،
القصّه نیست چارهٔ ما گوئیا کنون، جز انقیادِ حکم فرنگان خوش آمدی،

۱۸ لیکن یك قرار نماند دوار چرخ
بومد گو مباش ز یزدان خوش آمدی،

(امضا م ح ح)

(Translation)

("Fortunate is your advent! Greeting and Welcome to thee, O Germany!")

"O newly-arrived guest of Persia, welcome!
O Germany! Your place is on our eyes welcome!
Persia is like a well-filled table with foreigners for guests,
O guest unbidden to this table, welcome!
Thanks be to God! The morning of union hath appeared,
The nights of separation have come to an end welcome!
To take captive the bird-like hearts of your unhappy lovers
With the snare in your hand and the grain in your apron,
welcome!

(5) Claiming to be the protector of Islám and the Muslims
Thou hast entered the gang of thieves welcome!
But, since your competitors have carried off all that there was,
I am afraid that disappointment may be your portion welcome!
Islám was friendless and helpless, now
A hundred thanks, it has found a guardian like thee welcome!
I know thee well, O libertine of many spells!
The Devil sings the praises of thy cunning welcome!
Thy favour ever embraces Islám, we are unable to voice the thanks which are your due welcome!
(10) Cunning prompted thee to extend the hand of friendship to the Turk,
Thou didst whisper into his ear the verse of loss welcome!
Then, on the pretext of friendship for the Sultan of Fez,
Thou didst hasten towards Tangier welcome!
The injury which Morocco experienced from such a friend as thee
It had never experienced from the enmity [of another] welcome!
Having finished with the affairs of these two, without delay
Thou didst appear in the land of Persia welcome![1]
To shear the heads of a handful of innocents
Thou bringest in thy hand a sharp razor welcome!
(15) Wantonly, with pretexts of College and Bank,
Thou hast attained thy secret object welcome!
Our cry of lamentation still rises to heaven
On account of the Russian and British Banks welcome!
In short it seems that we have now no option
Save to submit to the orders of the Franks welcome!
(18) Yet the circling heaven remains not in one position,
Say, "Despair not of God!" Welcome!"

[Signed *M J KH*]

[1] Concerning German activities in Persia at this period (1907) see my *Persian Revolution* pp 178 and 187

ADDITIONAL POEMS RECEIVED WHILE THE BOOK WAS GOING THROUGH THE PRESS

POEMS BY *BAHÁR* OF MASHHAD, ENTITLED *MALIKU'SH-SHU'ARA*, OR "THE KING OF POETS"

At the end of October, 1913, I received through one of my Persian friends a collection of fifteen poems by *Bahár* of Mashhad, transcribed by the poet's own hand, only one of which (No 20, pp 218–20 *supra*) had previously reached me These poems range in date from Jumáda I, A H 1327, to Ramazan, A H 1329 (=May–June, 1909, to August–September, 1911), and most if not all of them appeared in the Mashhad papers *Khurásán*, *Ṭús* and *Naw Bahár*, while the most celebrated of them (referred to above as already included in this book) also appeared in the *Ḥablu'l-Matín*, *Írán-i-Naw* and *Taraqqí* I shall give a short description of these fifteen poems and the full text of several of the most striking

(36)

The first is a fine *mustazád* (similar in form and metre to No 5 on pp 185–6 *supra*) written and published in the paper *Khurásán* in Jumáda I, A H 1327 (=May–June, 1909), towards the end of the "Lesser Tyranny" (*Istibdad-i-saghír*), some few weeks before the capture of Tihrán and deposition of Muhammad 'Alí by the victorious Nationalists It was designed to arouse in Khurásán sympathy with the efforts put forth by Ázarbáyján, Gílán and Isfahán, and is here given in full

با شه ایران ز آزادی سخن گفتن خطاست، کارِ ایران با خداست،
مذهب شاهنشهِ ایران ز مذهبها جداست، کارِ ایران با خداست،
شاه مست و میر مست و شحنه مست و شیخ مست، مملکت رفته ز دست،
هر دم از دستانِ مستان فتنه و غوغا بپاست، کارِ ایران با خداست،





The poet Bahar of Mashhad entitled
Maliku'sh-Shu'ara ("the King of Poets")

هر دم از دریای استبداد آید بر فراز   موجهای جانگداز
زین تلاطم کشتی ملّت بگرداب بلاست   کارِ ایران با خداست
مملکت کشتی حوادث بحر و استبداد خس   ناخدا عدل است و بس
کارِ پاسِ کشتی و کشتی‌نشین با ناخداست   کارِ ایران با خداست
پادشه خودرا مسلمان خواند و سازد تباه   خونِ جمعی بیگناه
ای مسلمانان در اسلام این ستمها کی رواست   کارِ ایران با خداست
شاهِ ایران گر عدالت‌را نخواهد باك نیست   زآنکه طینت پاك نیست
دیدهٔ خفّاش از خورشید در رنج و عناست   کارِ ایران با خداست
روز و شب جهدد همی بر ریشِ ناخیرِ وزیر   سلسلت تیر امیر
کی شود زین ریشخندِ زشت کارِ ملك راست   کارِ ایران با خداست
باش تا آگه کند شه‌را ازین بیخردی   انتقامِ ایزدی
انتقامِ ایزدی برق است و بیخرد گیاست   کارِ ایران با خداست
سگِ گرسنه چون بدوشان تپه[1] رفت از باغ شاه   تازه‌تر شد داغ شاه
روزِ دیگر سگرش در سرحدِ ملك فناست   کارِ ایران با خداست
باش تا بیرون ز رشت آید سپهدار سترگ   فرِّ دادارِ بزرگ
آنکه گیلان ز اهتمامش رشك اقلیم بقاست   کارِ ایران با خداست
باش تا از اصفهان صمصامِ حق گردد پدید   نام حق گردد بدید
تا سپهم آنکه سر ز احکامِ حق پیچد کجاست   کارِ ایران با خداست
خاكِ ایران بوم و برزن از تمدّن خورده آب   جز خراسانِ خراب
«هرچه هست از قامتِ ناسازِ بی‌اندامِ ماست»[2]   کارِ ایران با خداست

(بهار)

[1] *Dawshán tapé* ("Hare Hill") is one of the Sháh's hunting-boxes situated a few miles to the N. E. of Tihrán. See my *Year among the Persians*, pp. 86 and 91.

[2] This line is a quotation from Háfiz.

(37)

The second poem in this collection is, in the words of the author, a portion of "a metrical history of Persia down to the time of Muhammad 'Alí, mingled with moving exhortations, sent to the Sháh by means of *Mushíru's-Saltana*, the Court Chamberlain (*Wazír-i-Darbár*), which, however, produced no effect" It also was composed in Jumáda 1, A.H. 1327 (= May–June, 1909), but seems not to have been published at the time This poem also I consider worthy of being reproduced here

(۱)

پاسبانا تا بچند این سستی و خواب گران، پاسبان را نیست خواب از خواب سر بردار هان
گلهٔ خود را نگر بی پاسبان و بی شبان، یك طرف گرگ دمان و یك طرف شیر ژیان
آن ز چنگ این رباید طعمه این از چنگ آن، هر یك آلوده بخون این گله چنگ و دهان
پاسبان مست و گله مشغول و دشمن هوشیار،
کار ما یزدان بود گر کف برون رفتست کار،

(۲)

پند بپذیر ای ملك زین پاك گوهر رایگان، یکی از رشتان موی و یاری از همسایگان
وآنکه از سر دور کن گفتار این بیمایگان، پایداری چند خواهی جست از این بی پایگان
کشور تو خسروا گنجی است شایگان، ترسم این گنج از کفت شاها بر آید رایگان
طرفه گنجی در کف آوردی کنون بی هیچ رنج،
چون نبردی رنج شاها کی شناسی قدر گنج،

* * * * * *

همه آثارِ شاهان خسروا افسانه نیست ٬ شاه را شاها گزیر از سیرتِ شاهانه نیست
ی اندر خورِ هر سست و هر دیوانه نیست ٬ مجلس‌افروزی ز شمع است آری از پروانه نیست
اینک کدخدائی جُز تو در این خانه نیست ٬ خانهٔ چون خانهٔ تو خسروا ویرانه نیست

خیز و از داد و دهش آباد کن این خانه را ٬
و اندک اندک دور کن از خویشتن بیگانه را ٬

(Translation)

(1)

"O watchman, how long this sloth and heavy sleep?
Sleep is not for the watchman, O, raise thy head from slumber!
Behold thy flock without watchman or shepherd,
On one side the raging wolf, on the other the roaring lion,
That one snatches the morsel from the claws of this one and this one from that one,
Each one having dyed his claws and fangs with the blood of this flock
The watchman drunk, the flock preoccupied, the enemy watchful—
The matter rests with God for it has passed out of our hands!

(2)

"Accept advice freely, O King, from this loyal nature
Seek not for fairness from the foul, nor friendliness from thy neighbours,
Then put away out of thine head the words of these worthless ones
How long wilt thou seek for constancy from these inconstant ones?
Thy kingdom, O Prince, is a treasure, a royal treasure,
And I fear, O King lest this treasure may slip from thy hands without a struggle

(۸)

اه خود کیست بدین کبر و انانیّت او، تا نکو باشد در بارهٔ ما نیّت او،
ا پرستندهٔ حقیم و الوهیّت او، "کر ثری تا بثریّا معبودیّت او،
همه در ذکر و مناجات و قیامند و قعود،"

(۹)

زند کوکبِ مشروطه ز گردونِ کمال، سر آید شبِ هجران و دمد صُبحِ وصال،
ار نیکو شود از فرّ خدای متعال، "اینکه در شدّت و فقری و پریشانی حال،
صبر کن کین دو سه روزی سر آید معدود،"

(۱)

زخطا کاری ازین شاه نمی باید خواست، کانچه ما در او بینیم سراسر خطاست،
هش پند که بر بد منشان پند هباست، "پند سعدی که کلیدِ درِ گنج سَعَداست،
نتواند که بجای آورد الاّ مسعود،"

(Translation)

(1)

‘ O King, at what dost thou aim by thy despotism?
From such deeds naught will be witnessed save evil fortune!
Shew generosity in the way of the Constitution, that thou may'st
be adored
*‘The honour of a man is in generosity, and his nobility in
worship
Whoever has not these two, his non-existence is better than his
existence!’*

(2)

"O King, make not cruelty thy practice, nor break thy promises,
For, if thou dost, Divine punishment will seize thy skirt!
The happenings of the cycle of time will cast dust on thy head,
'Dost thou not see that the gladsome dust of Egypt is the same
Dust of Egypt, but [cast] on the heads of Pharaoh and his hosts?'

(3)

"O King, thine obstinacy and tyranny consume Persia,
To-day the Nation is successful in requiting thee!
The glow of the light of requital is not [a thing] of to-day
'This is the same world-enkindling disc of the Sun
Which used to shine on the dwellings of 'Ád and Thamud!'

(4)

"O King, strike not the axe more than this on thy root!
Cast not thyself and the Nation into the gulf of abasement!
Do not dig up thine own roots through selfish desires and whims!
'Do not mar thy worth by frivolous and forbidden pursuits
If thy belief in the Promised Day[1] *be sincere!'*

(5)

"With tyranny thou didst reap clean the Nation's crop
The old story of Chingiz Khan hath been renewed by thine injustice,
After this conversation wherefore shouldst thou set thy heart on the world?
'O thou who art in luxury and wealth be not deceived by the world,
For to tarry eternally in this halting-place is an impossible contingency!'

[1] i e the Day of Judgement

(6)

"Pass by the region of Tabríz and the place of its martyrs
Hearken to that soul-melting story, and rend thy heart with woe!
In that region, after that slaughter and strife,
'Walk gently on the dust of that road wherever thou passest,
For it is [composed of] eyes and eyelids, cheeks and bodies!'

(7)

"The King is not single-hearted and affairs are gone to rack and ruin
O wearied nation, think of some fresh plan at this stage!
Set not the foot of hope at the gate of this headstrong monarch!
'If thou stretchest out thine hand in supplication, stretch it towards One
Who is generous, merciful, forgiving and kind!'

(8)

"Who, indeed, is the King with this his pride and egotism,
That his intentions with regard to us should be good?
We are the worshippers of God and His Divinity,
'In whose service, from the dust to the Pleiades,
All are engaged in commemoration, prayers, rising up and bowing down

(9)

"The Constellation of the Constitution appears from the Firmament of Perfection
The Night of Parting draws to an end, and the Morn of Union dawns
All will be well through the Glory of God Most High
'O thou who art in hardship, poverty and distracted circumstances,
Be patient, for these few brief days will come to an end!'

(10)

"One must not expect from this King anything but mistakes,
For what we see in him is wrong from one end to the other
Counsel him not, for vain is counsel to those of evil nature
'*The advice of Sa'dí, which is the key to the door of the Treasure of the Blessed,*
None can put into practice save the favoured!'"

(39)

The fourth poem of the collection, composed "in the latter days of the Lesser Tyranny, and the beginning of the Revolt in Khurásan (*i e* in the early summer of A D 1909) in order to excite and encourage the *Fidá'ís*," was recited in the *Bagh-i-'Anbar* at Mashhad, and afterwards published in the newspaper *Khurásan*. It is remarkable in form as being what is called *Dhu Qáfiyatayn*, or having a double rhyme Only the first of the five stanzas which constitute the poem is here given

دوشینه ز رنج دهر بدخواه،   رفتم سوی بوستان بهائی،
تا وارهم از خمار جانکاه،   از لطف هوای بوستانی،
دیدم گلهای نغز دلخواه،   خندان ز طراوت جوانی،
مرغان لطیف طبع آگاه،   نالان بنوای باستانی،
بر آتش روی گل شبانگاه،   هر یك سرگرم زند خوانی
من بیخبرانه رفتم از راه،   از آن نغمات آسمانی،
با خود گفتم بناله و آه،   کای رانده ز عالم معانی،
با بال ضعیف و پر کوتاه،   پرواز بلند کی توانی،
بودم در این سخن که ناگاه،   مرغی بزبان بی زبانی،

این مژده بگوش من رسانید،
کز رحمت حق مباش نومید،

The fifth poem has been already given (No. 20, pp. 218–20 *supra*) It was published not only in the ***Írán-i-Naw*** (from which it was quoted), but also in the papers ***Khurásán***, ***Taraqqí***, and *Hablu'l-Matín*

The sixth poem was originally declaimed in a great assembly of the notables, officials and people of Mashhad held in the Holy Shrine of the Imám Riza to celebrate the opening of the Second National Assembly (about November 15, 1909) It is in praise of Freedom, comprises fifteen couplets, and begins

بیآ ساقی که کرد ایزد قوی ارکانِ آزادی، شود آباد از نو خانهٔ ویرانِ آزادی
جهان بگشود بر غمدیدگان ابوابِ آسایش، فلک بربست با دلخستگان پیمانِ آزادی

The seventh poem was written in July, 1910, at a time of political crisis and change of Cabinet It is a *tarkíb-band* of four strophes, and appeared in the newspaper *Tus*, No 50 The last strophe is as follows

یاران روشِ دگر گزیدند، وز ما دل و دیده برگرفتند،
از مسلکِ ما شدند دلگیر، پس مسلکِ خوبتر گرفتند،
در سایهٔ طبعِ اعتدالی، پیرایهٔ مختصر گرفتند،
هر زشتی را نکو گزیدند، هر نفعی را ضرر گرفتند،
وز خارجیان به ساده لوحی، زهر از عوضِ شکر گرفتند،
فرمانِ شکوهِ خویشتن را، از دشمنِ کینه‌ور گرفتند،
باری هر کارِ پُر خطر را، کایان ز رهِ خطر گرفتند،
باری یاری ز کف نهادند، شوخی شوخی ز سر گرفتند،
غافل که به خانهٔ احرار،
سیصد گوش است پُشْتِ دیوار،

(40)

The eighth poem appeared in No 31 of the newspaper *Tús* on the Persian *Nawruz* (New Year's Day), March 22, 1910 It is a *mustazád* of fifteen stanzas, and is worthy of notice both on account of its intrinsic beauty and its allusions to recent events in Persia

(۱)

عیدِ نوروز است هر روزی بما نوروز باد، شامِ ایران روز باد،
بهمین سالِ حیاتِ ما بما فیروز باد، روزِ ما بهروز باد،
برقِ تیغِ ما جهان بردار و دشمن سوز باد، حیثیِ ما گیتی‌فروز باد،
سالِ استقلالِ ما را باد آغازِ بهار، با نسیمِ افتخار،

(۲)

یاد باد آن نوبهارِ رفته و آن پژمرده باغ، و آن خزانِ تیر چنگ،
و آن همه محنت که بر بلبل رسید از جورِ زاغ، در رهِ ناموس و ننگ،
و آن ز خونِ نوجوانان بر کران باغ و راغ، لاله‌های رنگ رنگ،
و آن ز قدِّ رادمردان در کنارِ جویبار، سروهای خاکسار،

(۳)

یاد باد آن باغبان کز کینه آتش در فکند، در فضای این چمن،
و آن نسیمِ مهرگانی کآمد و از بیخ کند، لاله و سرو و سمن،
آن یکی بر هرزه گرد انبارِ رنج محنت شد، گلستانِ محن،
و آن دگر بر خیره کرد آویز چوبِ خشک دار، میوه‌های خوشگوار،

(٤)

سر کرانِ گلشنِ تبریز آتش در گرفت، — از سمومِ جورِ شاه،
گشت از آن آتش که ناگه اندران کشور گرفت، — خونِ مسکینان تباه،
چون ز مردی و دلیری ره بر آن لشکر گرفت، — لشکرِ مشروطه خواه،
لشکر همسایه[1] ناگه سر بر آورد از کنار، — با هزاران گیر و دار،

(٥)

کاین ستم افشرده پا اندر ره صلح و وداد، — سست از من خوف و بیم،
آمدستم تا نهم ره بر آشوب و فساد، — بر طریقِ مستقیم،
الله الله زآن تطاول الله الله زآن عناد، — ای خداوندِ کریم،
این چه جور است و عداوت از چه بغض است و نقار، — زین گروه نابکار،

(٦)

اندک اندک زین بهانه سوی قزوین کرد روی، — وحشیانه خیلِ روس،
در شمالِ ملکِ ما افتاد از ایشان های و هوی، — ای دریغ و ای فسوس،
در خراسان هم درآن هنگامه روسِ خیره پوی، — از ستم بنواخت کوس،
حامی اشرار شد و افکند در مشهد شرار، — بی بهانه بل آشکار،

(٧)

یاد بادا آن مهِ خورداد و آن جان باختن، — در رهِ ناموس و دین،
و آن سوی قبّة الاسلام توپ انداختن، — بر عبادِ مسلمین،
قومی از بیدانشی کارِ وطن را ساختن، — تیر قومی در کمین،
تا که میدانی بدست آرند درآن گیر و دار، — غافل از انجامِ کار،

[1] i.e. Russia

(۸)

غافل از این کآسمان هر روز بازیها کند، بر خلافِ رای مرد،
ملّتِ بیدار دل گردن فرازیها کند، روزِ بیگار و نبرد،
کردگارِ داد گستر کارسازیها کند، بر مرامِ اهلِ درد،
تا که اهلِ دردرا گردد زمانه سازگار، چرخ رام و بخت یار،

(۹)

یاد باد و شاد باد آن سروِ آزادِ وطن، حضرتِ ستّار خان،
آنکه داد از رادی و مردانگی دادِ وطن، اندر آذربایجان،
راد باقر خان کزو شد سخت بنیادِ وطن، شاد بادا جاودان،
یاد بادا ملّتِ تبریز و آن مردانِ کار، آن وطن‌را افتخار،

(۱۰)

یاد باد آن جنبشِ گیلان و آن همه غرّنده شیر، و آن یورشهای بزرگ،
و آن مهیبِ سردارِ اسعد و آن سپهدارِ دلیر، و آن جوانانِ سترگ،
یاد باد آن در سفارتخانه‌ها ایّام سر، چون ز شیر آشفته گرگ،
و آن حمایت پیشگانِ همسایگانِ دوستار، برده اورا در جوار،

(۱۱)

یاد باد آن فتنهٔ زنجان و آن قربان علی[1]، و آن همه خون ریختن،
یاد باد آن اردبیل و آن همه سنگین دلی، و آن بحلق آویختن،
یاد بادا آن رحیمِ ناکس و آن جاهلی، و آن فساد انگیختن،
یاد باد آن آتش افروزانِ پنهانِ دیار، و آن گروهِ دیوسار،

[1] The revolt in Zanján, headed by Mullá Qurbán 'Alí began about the middle of August, 1909 and culminated in the Dáráb Mírzá incident in May–June, 1910. The troubles at Ardabíl began about the same time

(۱۲)

یاد بادا آن طبیبِ روبی عیسی نفس، و آن رحیم دردمند،
و آن دوای روح پرورکش باشد دست رس، حر نه بیماری نژند،
و آن شفای عاجل و جنگ آوریهای سپس، و آن همه رنج و گزند،
و آن بهانه جستن و آوردن اندر آن دیار، لشکرِ وحشی شعار،

(۱۳)

یاد باد آن دست دادن اندرآن عکسِ گروب[1]، در فضای اردبیل،
و آن یارانِ رحیم از شوق دادن مشق توپ، تا شود خوبها سبیل[2]،
و آن بخود ره دادنِ اهریمنان با نکار، از پسِ جنگ وفرار،

(۱٤)

اینک اینک سالِ نو شد آفرین بر سالِ نو، هم بر این اقبالِ نو،
سالِ نو هر دم زند بر ملکِ ایران فالِ نو، دل کند آمالِ نو،
ماضی ما کهنه شد بنگر در استقبالِ نو، فرّ و استقلالِ نو،
فرّ و استقلال نو باشد در استقبالِ کار، منّت از پروردگار،

(۱٥)

منّت ایزدرا که قوم خفته‌را بیدار کرد، لطفِ حقّ لا ینام،
خیره گرگانرا ز مصرِ مملکت آوار کرد، آن عزیز ذو انتقام،
اینک اینک نوبتِ کار است باید کار کرد، در رهِ ناموس و نام،
تا که مقصودی بدست آریم بعد از انتظار، بر خلافِ همجوار،

[1] The "group" photograph of Rahím Khán and his Russian friends to which reference is here made was published in the *Ḥablu'l Matín*, the *Manchester Guardian*, and opposite p 440 of my *Persian Revolution*.

[2] A line has evidently fallen out here in the original



Rahim Khan Qaraja Daghi

the notorious Reactionary [illegible] (see verses 13 of Poem No. 40)
holding the hand of one of the [illegible] secretaries of the
Russian Consulate-General at Tabriz

This photograph was taken about the [illegible] of August 1909

(١٦)

همواران‌را بما انصاف کاری هست؟ نیست! رَوْ بکن کارِ دگر
قومِ مغرب‌را بر اهلِ شرق یاری هست؟ نیست! رَوْ بجو یارِ دگر
خود خریداری بر این افغان و زاری هست؟ نیست! شَوْ ببازار دگر
ز آنکه کس‌را دل بحالِ کس نمی سوزد بهار کار باید کرد کار

(41)

The ninth poem, which appeared in No 30 of the newspaper *Tús* about the middle of March, 1910, is a satire on the disgraceful condition of the streets of Mashhad in rainy weather on account of the mud

شادمانم بحت مدام بلای گِل یا رب چو ما مباد کسی مبتلای گِل
ل مشکلی شده است بهر معبر و طریق گامِ روندگان شده مشکل گشای گِل
گه که ابر خیمه زند در فضای شهر بر بامِ هر سرای بر آید لوای گِل
ل دل نمی کَنَد ز خراسان و اهلِ او ای جانِ اهلِ شهر فدای وفای گِل
ِ صد هزار کشتی بدرّد بنای خلق هرگز نمی رسد بکشف غطای گِل
خضر اگر رود بظلماتِ کوچه خلق اسکندری خورند[1] درین چشمه‌های گِل
ل قدم که بوسه زند گِل بپای ما افتیم بر زمین و ببوسیم پای گِل
لها ثقیل و درهم و کوچه خراب و تنگ آه از جفای کوچه و داد از جفای گِل
ل هرچه‌را به بچه در آورد ول نکرد صد آفرین به بچهٔ معمر بنای گِل
گل ز سکه خاطر و دلها فُسُرده[2] است گُل سر زند از این بلند از فضای گِل
ِ روزگارِ خویش کنم گریه بامداد چون بنگرم بخندهٔ دندان نمای گِل
پُشت تا شانه وار پیش تا بریش هستند خلق یکسره غرقِ غطای گِل
روز در قلمروِ طوس از بلند و پست آنجایگه کجاست که خالی است جای گِل

[1] *Iskandarí khurdan* is a slang expression meaning "to fall on the face," but there is a *tanásub* with *Khizr* in the previous line

[2] This is a conjectural emendation for *rasída*, which gives no good sense.

آید اگر جهاز زره پوش ز انگلند، حیران شود ز لحّهٔ بی منتهای گِل
گر لای و گِل تمام نگردد ازین بلد، اهلِ بلد تمام بماند لای گِل
شرم آیدم ز گفتن بسیار وزین بار،
چندین هزار مسئله باشد ورای گِل،

(42)

The tenth poem, a *musaddas* or "six-some,' appeared in No 1 of the newspaper *Naw Bahar* in the month of Shawwál, A H 1328 (= October–November, 1910) Five of the twelve stanzas of this poem (Nos 3, 6, 7, 8 and 12) are here given

(۳)

وُزرا بار نهادند ز کف کار وطن، وُکلا مُهر نهادند بکام و بدهن
عُلما شبهه نمودند و فتادند بظن، چیره شد کشورِ ایران‌را اسوِ فتن
کشورِ ایران ز اسوِ فتن در خطر است،
ای وطنخواهان زنهار وطن در خطر است،

(٦)

پارتی انگیزند این قوم در اصلاحِ اُمور، لیک پارتی شان ز اصلاح بصد مرحله دور
غرض و حُبِّ ریاستشان اوّل مسطور، عاقل از آنکه وطن مانده غریب و مهجور
ملتِ خسته چه از مرد و چه زن در خطر است،
ای وطنخواهان زنهار وطن در خطر است،

(٧)

عرش صحرا شده هندستِ نهنگِ دریا، کشتی مارا زانده است بگرداب ،
آه ازین رنج و محن آوخ ازین جور و جفا، های بُحر حرأت و غیرت نبود چارهٔ
ز آنکه ناموسِ وطن زیر دو محن در خطر است،
ای وطنخواهان زنهار وطن در خطر است،

(۸)

رفتارا بهم امروز سرِ صلح و صفاست، آری این صلح و صفاشان برهِ ذلّت ماست،
بجبر و آنکه مهین رایتِ اسلام بپاست، غافل آن قوم که قفقاز و لهستان بلاست،
غافل این فرقه که لاهور و دکن در خطر است،
ای وطنخواهان ربهار وطن در خطر است،

(۱۲)

وطنیّاتی با دیدهٔ تر میگویم، با وجودیکه در او نیست اثر میگویم،
تا رسد عمرِ گرانمایه بسر میگویم، بارها گفته‌ام و بارِ دگر میگویم،
که وطن یار وطن یار وطن در خطر است،
ای وطنخواهان ربهار وطن در خطر است،

The paper *Naw Bahar* (see No 357, p 149 *supra*) first appeared on the 9th of Shawwal, A H 1328 (= October 14, 1910), at Mashhad The celebrated Haydar Khan, called *'Amú-oghlu* ("cousin"), was its founder, and our poet *Bahar*, its editor It was suppressed at the instance of the Russians exactly a year after its inception (on October 14 1911)

(43)

The eleventh poem is evidently modelled on a well-known fragment by the great poet Jámí, beginning

بدندان رخنه در پولاد کردن، بناخن راه در خارا بریدن،

and ending

همه بر جای آسانتر نماید، که بارِ منّتِ دونان کشیدن،

It was published in the *Naw Bahár* in Shawwál, A.H. 1328 (= October–November, 1910), and is as follows

دو روبه زیرِ بیشه مار خفتن، سه پُشته روی شاخِ مور رفتن،
تنِ روغن زده با زحمت و زور، میانِ لانهٔ زنبور رفتن،
بکوهِ بیستون بی رهنمائی، شبانه با دو چشمِ کور رفتن،
میانِ لرز و تب با جسمِ پُر زخم، زمستان توی آبِ شور رفتن،
برهنه زخمهای سخت خوردن، پیاده راههای دور رفتن،

ببیشِ من هزاران بار خوشتر،
که یکجو زیرِ بارِ زور رفتن،

(44)

The twelfth poem is a *tasnif*, or ballad, in the "Afshár Mode," and appeared in the *Naw Bahár* in the month of Dhu'l-Hijja, A.H. 1328 (= December, 1910). It runs as follows

(در پردهٔ افشار)

(۱)

نمی‌دانم چرا ویرانه گشتی — وطن، مقامِ لشکرِ بیگانه گشتی — وطن،
تو شمعِ جمعِ ما بودی وطن جان — چرا، بشمعِ دیگران پروانه گشتی — وطن،
پروانه گشتی وطن، (مکرّر)
تو عنبرِ مِی تو گلِ گلشنی، بدین خواری چرا افسانه گشتی وطن،

(۲)

خوشا روزی که بودی شاد و خندان — وطن، شکستی خصم را چنگال و دندان — وطن،
تو بودی سربلند افسوس افسوس — وطن، در اُفتادی بحالِ مستمندان — وطن،
در اُفتادی بحالِ مستمندان وطن، (مکرّر)
امان امان امان بیداد بیداد بیداد، ز جورِ دشمنان ویرانه گشتی وطن،

(۳)

وطن جان ای وطن جان ای وطن جانِ من، شمای دل دوای قلبِ سوزانِ من،
جفاکش مادرِ زارِ پریشانِ من، پرستارِ من و گهوارهٔ جُنبانِ من،
پرستارِ من و گهوارهٔ جُنبانِ من، (مکرّر)
مادرِ مهربان آشنای روان، در زیدان چرا بیگانه گشتی وطن،

(٤)

ز روس و انگلیس آید ستمها بما، هجوم آرد ز هر سو درد و غمها بما،
قدم در خاك ما از کین نهادند و باز، سی محنت نهد این بد قدمها بما،
این بد قدمها بما، (مکرّر)
اگر پیمان کند چرا کمان کند، ازین پیمان تو بی پیمانه گشتی وطن،
ویرانه گشتی وطن، ویرانه گشتی وطن،

The thirteenth poem was recited at the official celebration held on the birthday of Sultán Ahmad Sháh by the Provincial Council of Khurásán in August, 1911, and was afterwards published in the *Naw Bahár* It is a *qasída* of twenty-seven verses, composed in the style of the old poet Farrukhí, and begins

می فرو هِل زکف ای ترك و بنگسو به جنگ، جامهٔ جنگ فرو پوش که شد نوبت جنگ،
بادهرا روز بیفسرد بنهٔ باده ز دست، جنگ‌را نوبت نگذشت بنهٔ چنگ ز چنگ،

(45)

The fourteenth poem was published in the *Naw Bahár* in Ramazán, A.H 1329 (= August-September, 1911) It comprises eleven verses, and is an imitation of a poem by Minúchihri[1]

ای خطّهٔ ایرانِ مهین ای وطنِ من، ای گشته بمهرِ تو عجین جان و تنِ من،
ای عاصمهٔ دنیی آباد که شد باز، آشفته کنارت چو دلِ پُرحزنِ من،

[1] This begins

ای باده فدای تو همه جان و تنِ من، کز بیخ بکَندی ز دلِ من حزنِ من،

دور از تو گل و لاله و سرو و سمن نیست، ای باغ گل و لاله و سرو و سمن من،
بس خار مصیبت که خلد مرا در پای،[1] بی روی تو ای تازه شگفته چمن من،
ای یار خدای من گر بی تو زیم باز، اهریمن من گردد چون اهرمن من،
تا هست کنار تو پر از لشکر دشمن، هرگز نشود خالی از دل محن من،
از رنج تو لاغر شده‌ام چوبان کر من، تا بر نشود ناله نبینی بدن من،[2]
دردا و دریغا که چنان کشتی بی برگ، کز یافتهٔ خویش نداری کفن من،
بسیار سخن گفتنم در تعزیت تو، آوخ که بگریاند کر را سخن من،
آنگاه بپوشند کفنهای مرا خلق، کز خون من آغشته شود پیرهن من،
وامروز همی گویم با محنت بسیار،
دردا و دریغا وطن من وطن من،

(46)

The fifteenth and last poem in this collection is placed in the mouth of the ex-Shah Muhammad 'Alí, whose raid into Persia in August, 1911, ended, in spite of the hardly-concealed help of the Russians, in the defeat and death of his most capable General, *Arshadu'd-Dawla*, at the end of August and beginning of September, and his flight back to Russia soon afterwards. This poem also was published in the *Naw Bahár*

(زبان حال شاه مخلوع)

(۱)

یا بنده فلک چرا مشنگ است، سبحان الله این چه رنگ است،
بودم روزی بشهر تبریز، آقا و ولیّ عهد و با چیز،
شه هرمز بود و بنده پرویز، وایک شده‌ام ز دیده خونریز،
کاین چرخ چرا جبین دو رنگ است،
سبحان الله این چه رنگ است،

[1] This hemistich does not scan, but I cannot emend it

[2] This seems to be a reminiscence of al Mutanabbí's verse (ed Dieterici, p. ٩).

كَفَى بِجِسْمِي نُحُولًا أَنَّنِي رَجُلٌ، لَوْلَا مُخَاطَبَتِي إِيَّاكَ لَمْ تَرَنِي،

(۲)

بودم روزی بشهرِ تهران، مولا و خدایگان و سلطان،
بستم همه‌را بتوپِ عزّان، گفتم که کسی نماند از ایشان،
دیدم روزِ دگر که جنگ است،
سبحان الله این چه رنگ است،

(۳)

گفتیم که خلق حرفِ مُفتند، آخر دیدیم دُم کلفتند،
خیلی گفتیم و کم شنفتند، یك جنسِ بحث کرده گفتند،
بسم الله ره سوی فرنگ است،
سبحان الله این چه رنگ است،

(٤)

گفتیم که ما ز گُنْدگانیم، رحمت ز خدا به بندگانیم،
و سوی اودسا شوندگانیم، غم نیست گر از روندگانیم،
بنشینِ ما بخانه سنگ است،
سبحان الله این چه رنگ است،

(٥)

سوی اودسا شدیم هَی هَی، مجنون آسا شدیم هَی هَی،
بی برگ و نوا شدیم هَی هَی، یکپاره فنا شدیم هَی هَی،
آن دل که بما بسوخت سنگ است،
سبحان الله این چه رنگ است،

(٦)

اندر آدینه پری جمیله، آمد چون لیلی از قبیله،
مجنون شدمش بلا وسیله، بگذاشت بگوشِ من فتیله،
گفتم که وقتِ لاس و دنگ است،
سبحان الله این چه رنگ است،

(٧)

بد بختی ما نگر که خانم، با داد دگر بدستِ ما دُم،
یک روز و دو روز بود و شد گُم، با خود گفتم خسروا قُم،
کن عزم سفر که وقت تنگ است،
سبحان الله این چه رنگ است،

(٨)

بر بادِ نگار عیسوی کیش، کردیم سفر بمملکتِ اطریش،
درویشانه گذشتم از خویش، کز عشق شهان شوند درویش،
دیدم ره دور و پای لنگ است،
سبحان الله این چه رنگ است،

(٩)

خانم ز سفر برفت باری، مقصودِ سفر برفت باری،
گفتم بهدر برفت باری، چون عشق ز سر برفت باری،
گفتم که نه موقع درنگ است،
سبحان الله این چه رنگ است،

(۱۰)

دیدیم شهر قال و قیل است، صحبت رنگارِ بی بدیل است،
ور ما محیانِ بس طویل است، گفتیم که نام ما خلیل است،
گفتیم که کارِ ما شلنگ است،
سبحان الله این چه رنگ است،

(۱۱)

ما خود گفتیم ممدلی هی، وقتِ سفر است با علی هی،
بر خیز و برو مگر شلی هی، خودرا آماده کن ولی هی،
بیّنا که زمانه نیز جنگ است،
سبحان الله این چه رنگ است،

(۱۲)

آن کس که تراست مهمان دار بسیار رفیقِ تست بسیار،
از توپ و تفنگ و خشنِ خونخوار، همره کندت مترس زنهار،
شتاب که وقتِ نام و ننگ است،
سبحان الله این چه رنگ است،

(۱۳)

و آنگاه ز شهرِ مازبسداد، رفتیم بسادکوبه دلشاد،
صاحب خانه نوید میداد، میگفت برو باستراباد،
گفتیم که ممدلی زرنگ است،
سبحان الله این چه رنگ است،

(۱٤)

گفتم قلیوف بیا بیا زود، آماده بکن یکی پراخود،
نامرد نفهمیدش نمیرود، من نیز فضول کردم از خود،
گفتم که نه وقت جنگ جنگ است،
سبحان الله این چه رنگ است،

(۱٥)

و آنگاه برسم میهمانیها، رفتیم بایل ترکمانیها،
دادیم بوبندها بآنها، گفتیم که ای عزیز جانها،
از غم دل ما بوانگ ونگ است،
سبحان الله این چه رنگ است،

(۱٦)

گفتم سپاه بمکر و فنها، بخشم همه‌را از آن تحفها،
خوش داد نتیجه ما و فنها، این نقشه نه خوب گشت تنها،
هر نقشه که می کشم فشنگ است،
سبحان الله این چه رنگ است،

(۱۷)

من ممدلی گربز بابم، با دولت روس آشنایم،
تهران تو کجا و من کجایم، خواهم که بحساب تو آیم،
گر عشق تو کلّه‌ام دنگ است،
سبحان الله این چه رنگ است،

(۱۸)

بِر دورەده سلطنت مسم دی،   آسایش و عافیت مسم دی[1]
م عزّت و مرلت مسم دی،   آوخ که سو مملکت مسم دی،
ملّت بـه ابدی قُولْتَنَسگ است،
سبحان الله این چه رنگ است،

(۱۹)

ای ترکمنان بیك مسطر،   ربربد شهر و قلعه یکسر،
جاپید هر آنچه اسپ و استر،   ر آغوش پدر کشید دختر،
کاین مایهٔ پیشرفت جنگ است،
سبحان الله این حه رنگ است،

(۲)

قالقوب گیدرر بو له همراه،   همّسله ایدوں می یـه شاه،
شاه اولسام اگر اولوں سر آگاه،   غارت ایدرور بنحوِ دلخواه،
قالقوب گیدرر که وقت تنگ است،
سبحان الله این جه رنگ است،

(۲۱)

و آنگاه دو اسپه با دلِ شاد،   رفتیم بشهرِ استراباد،
کردم عَلَم جماقِ بیداد،   گفتیم که هر که پیشکش داد،
ایمن ز گلولهٔ تفنگ است،
سبحان الله این جه رنگ است،

1 This and the two following verses are in Turkish

(۲۲)

ارشد که چو ما سشد هراسان، شد عازم شاهرود و سمنان،
از سوی دگر رشید سلطان، شد از رهِ راست سوی تهران،
گفتیم که وقتِ دنگ و فنگ است،
سبحان الله این چه رنگ است،

(۲۳)

خود گرچه ز شوق نیز بودیم، در وحشت و ترس نیز بودیم،
هر دم بسرِ گریز بودیم، هر لحظه محسست و حیز بودیم،
گفتی که براهِ ما پلنگ است،
سبحان الله این چه رنگ است،

(۲٤)

گفتند که کارها شلوغ است، و این کهنه چراغ بی فروغ است،
سرمایهٔ ارتجاع دوغ است، گفتیم که حملگی دروغ است،
گفتیم که حملگی جفنگ است،
سبحان الله این چه رنگ است،

(۲٥)

گفتند که کُشته شد رشیدت، گفتند که پاره شد امیدت،
گفتند وعید شد نویدت، گفتند سیاه شد سفیدت،
دیدم سرِ من ز غُصّه منگ است،
سبحان الله این چه رنگ است،

(۲٦)

گفتند که خصم کینه خواه است، بد خواه براه و بیمه راه است،
قصد همگی بقتلِ شاه است، دیدم که روزِ ما سیاه است،
و آئینهٔ ما قرینِ زنگ است،
سبحان الله این چه رنگ است،

(۲۷)

گفتند که ارشدت عدو شد، و آن مبرِ مکرّمت کنو شد،
اردوی معظّمت چپو شد، هنگامِ بدو بدو بدو شد،
بگریز که خصمه بی فشنگ است،
سبحان الله این چه رنگ است،

(۲۸)

گفتند حسابِ حکم فرما، رحمت حکسور دگر بفرما،
سر گرد کجا که بودی آنجا، دیدم زن بیش جنگ و دعوا،
حقا که برای بنده ننگ است،
سبحان الله این چه رنگ است،

(۲۹)

بنمود زمانه هرزه پوئی، وین گردون کرد تیره روئی،
افگند مرا بمرده شوئی، گفتیم مگر که جنگ جوئی،
چون عشقِ نگار شوخ و شنگ است،
سبحان الله این چه رنگ است،

(۴۰)

امروز ز بخت در گله استم، در گیر شکحه و تله استم،
در کارِ فرار و ولوله استم، گر سده امیر قافله استم،
این قافله تا محشر لنگ است،
سبحان الله این جه رنگ است،

(47)

The following poem, not included in the above collection, is also by Bahár, and was sent to me separately by a Persian friend. It is, I think, a parody of a well-known ode (*ghazal*) of Háfiz or some other of the classical poets, and, though couched in the erotic strain usual in this class of poems, is full of political allusions

ل فریبان که بروسیهٔ دل حا دارند، مستدامه جرا قصد دلِ ما دارند،
لبرانِ خودسر و هرحائی و روسی صفتند، ورنه در خانهٔ غیر از جه سبب حا دارند،
گاه لطف است وخوشی گاه عتاب است وخطاب، تا جه ازین همه پولتیك تقاضا دارند،
وبروبان اروپا ز جه در مرْدنِ ما، حیله سازند اگر اعجاز مسیحا دارند،
گرچه در قاعدهٔ حسن سیاسات جمال، مسلك آنست که خوبان اروپا دارند،
اشقانرا سرِ آزادی و استقلالست، کی ز پولتیكِ سرِ زلفِ تو پروا دارند،
غِ مژگانِ ترا دستِ سیاسی است دراز، با نمودیکه بمعمورهٔ دلها دارند،
لِ مسکینِ من از فرصِ یکی بوسه گذشت، با شروطی که لبانِ تو مهیّا دارند،
ه لشکرِ سیهِ نازِ تو ای ترك پسر، در حدودِ دلِ یاران سرِ یغما دارند،
ه خطی است که در داخلهٔ کشورِ دل، خیلِ قزّاقِ اشاراتِ تو مأوا دارند،
پیشِ عرایض جه کنم شکوه ز تو، که همه حالِ منِ بیدلِ شیدا دارند،



The Poet Pur-i Dawúd

ما بتوضیحِ دو چشمانِ تو قانع نشویم ، زآنکه با خارجیان الفت و نجوا دارند ،
در پناهِ سرِ زلفِ تو بهارستان است ، که در او هیئتِ دل مجلسِ شورا دارند ،
حکم فرمای که در محکمهٔ حسن و جمال ، هرچه آن حکمِ تو باشد همه مُجری دارند ،
رازدارانِ تو در انجمنِ سرّیِ دل ، نطقی از رمزِ دهانِ تو تمنّا دارند ،
دل غارت شده در محضرِ عدلیّهٔ عشق ، متظلّم شد و چشمانِ تو حاشا دارند ،

سخن تازه ز طبعِ تو عجب نیست بهار ،
که همه مشرقیان منطقِ گویا دارند ،

POEMS BY PÚR-I DÁWÚD

(48)

The following fine poem by Púr-i-Dáwúd has a less purely Persian vocabulary than he generally affects It was communicated to me in November, 1913, and has, I think, never before been published

ازآه نُشکام آبِ همه دریارا ، وز اشکِ کم دریا روی همه صحرارا ،
در خیلِ همه یاران همراز نمی‌جویم ، نه زاهدِ روحانی نه شاهدِ زیبارا ،
در جُنّهٔ دیبا نی فضل و هنرِ مردم ، با علم و شرف پوشم خود جامهٔ چوخارا ،
در کلبهٔ درویشی خوش باشم از آزادم ، در بند نمی‌خواهم صد قصرِ معلّارا ،
جمعی بدرِ مسجد حبْلی سوی فرخار ، خلقی بکنشت اندر جمعی است کلیسارا ،
گر از ستمِ گیتی آتشکده شد خاموش ، در کاخِ دل افروزم کانونِ اَوِستارا ،
از مدرسه و از درس کی چاره شود دردم ، ساز و دف و نی خوشتر دلداده و شیدارا ،
می گرچه حرام آمد در کیشِ مسلمانی ، در بادهٔ کشتی بوم آئینِ مسیحارا ،
خواهم که ز پا اُفتم مدهوش و خمار و مست ، تا نشنوم از ایران این غلغل و آوارا ،
از ناحیهٔ ایران هر لحظه بگوش آید ، صوتی که بلرزاند این گنبدِ مینارا ،

صوفی که اروگردد خود موی همه سورن،   صوفی که ارو بیی حوبیں دل خارارا،
گوید بتو ای فرزند اندیش بحالِ خویش،   در یاب ر جهد امروز آسایش فردارا،
دیبا نتوانی یافت زین پشم که می تابی،   زین خار نخواهی چید هرگز گُلِ حمرارا،
زنجیر ز من برگیر آنگاه بچنگ آور،   زنجیرِ سرِ زلفِ محبوب دلآرارا،
من در تب و تاب و غم تو شاد و خوش و خُرّم،   سنگ است جبین غفلت مانندِ تو برنارا،
از جوش خواتم شد دشت همه گلگون،   یار آ و دمی بنگر گلگشت و تماشارا،
شد از ستم دونان ملکِ جم و کی ویران،   پیغولهٔ جغدان بین ایران فلکسارا،
شد شیرِ کیان پنهان جولانِ شگال آمد،   خواری ز عقب آمد کرّ و فرِ دارارا،
شاهنشه انوشروان در گور سیه خُسبد،   جرس است از حایش بیں یاری دیبارا،

گر پور رود روزی از مهر وطن بر دار،
صد شکر و سپاس آرد مر ایزد یکتارا،

(*Translation*)

(1) With sighs I dry up the water of all the sea, and with tears I turn into a sea all the face of the plain
In all the company of friends I seek no confidant, nor spiritual ascetic, nor beauteous sweetheart
The virtue and talent of a man are not in the robe of brocade, for all my learning and nobility I wear a coat of cloth
If I be free I can be happy in a dervish's cell, while I desire not a hundred lofty palaces [if I be] in bonds.
(5) There is a crowd at the door of the Mosque, a troop [moving] towards [the idol-temple of] Farkhár, a host entering the synagogue, a congregation [filling] the church
If the Fire-temple has been extinguished through the tyranny of Fate, I will kindle in the chamber of the heart the altar of the Avesta

How can my sorrow be cured by colleges and lectures? Music, cymbals and flute are more congenial to the madman who has lost his heart

Although wine is forbidden in the Musulmán creed, in the drinking of wine I will pursue the Christian practice

I would fain fall down dazed, drunken and overcome by wine, so that I may not hear from Persia this clamour and crying

(10) From the direction of Persia every moment there reaches the ear a voice which causes this blue vault [of heaven] to tremble

A voice whereat the very hair becomes like needles, a voice whereat thou seest the heart of granite filled with blood

She cries to thee, "O son, consider thy state! Seek the ease of to-morrow by the efforts of to-day!

"Out of this wool which thou art twisting thou canst not weave brocade, from this thorn thou canst not gather the red rose!

"Loose the chains from me, and only then take in thy hand the chain-like tresses of thy charming sweetheart!

(15) "I am fevered, tormented and grieved thou art glad, happy and cheerful, such heedlessness is a shame in a youth like thee!

"Through the blood of my young men the ground is all rosy-red come back and gaze for a moment on my rose-walks and rose-show!

"Through the tyranny of evil men the Kingdom of Jamshíd and Kay hath been made desolate Behold Persia, once exalted to Heaven, become a ruin haunted by owls.

"The Lion of the Kayanians is hidden, it is the time of the jackal's prowling, humiliation hath succeeded the splendour and glory of Darius

"King Núshírwán slumbers in the dark tomb, while the Bear stands over his place Behold the tricks of Fate!"

(20) If, through love of his native land, Pur-i-Dáwúd should one day mount the scaffold, still will he give a hundred thanks and praises to the One God!

I possess some half dozen other poems by Púr-i-Dáwúd, of which three, one in praise of the *Anjuman* or Council (in this case, to judge by the context, the National Assembly or *Majlis*) and two in praise of the old Persian tongue (*Pársí-yi-Bástán*), are written in that almost pure Persian which this poet, like Shaykh 'Abdu'l-'Alí of Tihrán, called *Múbad*[1], and one or two others, is wont to cultivate in his writings One of these is here given as a specimen

(49)

چامه دیگر در فرورهٔ پارسی

زبانِ ایران ماست پارسی باستان، آنِ نیاکانِ ماست پارسی باستان

بر زبرِ کشورِ قباد و جمشید و کی، چو هورِ رخشانِ ماست پارسی باستان

سزد گر ایرانیان ورا ستایش کنند، بولهٔ یزدانِ ماست پارسی باستان

برایگان و سمت مده دری‌را ز چنگ، گوهرِ شایانِ ماست پارسی باستان

زنده کن از پارسی کشور و آئینِ آن، زندگی و جانِ ماست پارسی باستان

ز تازی از ناخوشی چاره نخوار دری، دارو و درمانِ ماست پارسی باستان

شگفت نبود اگر پور پرستد دری،

از آنکه از آنِ ماست پارسی باستان،

(50)

In the following poem, which is entitled "a National Song" and was composed in Paris on the occasion of the European New Year (probably of 1913), the poet has not attempted, and I think wisely, to exclude Arabic words and to write in pure and undiluted Persian

نوای نوی

از هجرت ای نگارم از کف بشد قرارم، چون زلفِ مشکارت شد تیره روزگارم،

گشتم ز ناله چون نای گشتم ز مویه چون موی، یاد آورد ز طوفان چشمانِ اشکارم،

[1] See p 87 *supra*

برگیر پرده از رُخ یزدان ز انتظارم، تا بیم جانِ خودرا در مقدمت سپارم،
واعظ همی سراید از حور و گه ز غلمان، من مایلم وطن‌را بود نیز کارم،
من مرغِ خوش‌نوایم ایرام آشیانه، از دَوْرِ چرخِ کجرَوْ پاریس شد گذارم،
گیرم که شهرِ پاریس شد رشکِ خُلْد و فردوس، امّا چه سود نبود آرامگاهِ یارم،
جشن است و خیلِ رندان افتاده مست و مدهوش، از جامِ مهرِ ایران من مستِ هوشیارم،
جنگ است و تار و تنبور رود و نی و چُغانه، من نالهٔ وطن‌را از دور گوش دارم،
چون کبکِ کوهساران خوبان همه خرامان، در گشت و در تماشا من زار و دلفگارم،
تا جورِ دشمنان‌را تاریخ یاد دارد، از زندگی ملولم با درد و غم دوچارم،
این آه و اشك و افغان امروز بی ثمر نیست، فرداست لاله روید از تربت و مزارم،

افروخت پورِ داود در سینه عشقِ ایران،
زآن روست شعله خیزد ز اشعارِ آبدارم،

(51)

One more poem by Púr-i-Dáwud may be quoted. It is entitled "On Worship" (*andar Parastish*), and describes the different objects of devotion of different classes of men, not without a certain cynicism.

اندر پرستش،

یکی گیتی یکی یزدان پرستد، یکی پیدا یکی پنهان پرستد،
یکی بودا و آن دیگر برهمن، دگر زان موسیِ چوپان پرستد،
یکی از روی دستور اَوِسْتَا، فروغ و خاورِ رخشان پرستد،
یکی ذاتِ مسیحِ ناصری‌را، ثنایِ حضرتِ سبحان پرستد،
گروهی پیروِ وَخشورِ تازی، حدیث و سنّت و قرآن پرستد،

پرستد بابی الواح و بیان را، بهائی اقدس و ایقان پرستد،
فقیه آزمند از حرص و شهوت، گهی حور و گهی غلمان پرستد،
چه نیرنگ است یاران مفتی شرع، مریدِ ابله و نادان پرستد،
تهی ایشان زاهد از زر و مال، قصور و کوثر و رضوان پرستد،
چگویم خود تو دانی واعظِ شهر، ابین و دیدهٔ گریان پرستد،
فرو شد عارف اندر وحدت ذات، وُجوب و جوهر و امکان پرستد،
صفاخو صوفیِ پشمینه‌پوشاك، مُرید و مرشد و عرفان پرستد،
دل از دُنیای فانی کنده درویش، چو جُعدی گوشهٔ ویران پرستد،
قلندر واله از سِرِّ انا الحقّ، حشیشِ وحدت و قلیان پرستد،
سیه شد روزگارِ عاشق از عشق، سوادِ طُرّهٔ جانان پرستد،
سرشك از بس فرو بارید شد کُور، هنوز او نرگسِ چشمان پرستد،
تو خود دانی که مستِ باده‌خواره، کباب و پستهٔ خندان پرستد،
نهنگِ قلزمِ اندیشه شاعر، گُزاف و یاوه و هذیان پرستد،
فغان از سر دبیرِ روزنامه، دروغ و مهمل و بُهتان پرستد،
وکیلِ محترم‌را کیش پولست، زر او محترم عنوان پرستد،
پزشك آمد عدوی تندرستی، جذام و سکته و یرقان پرستد،
منجم سرگم اندر سیر افلاك، نجوم و اختر گردان پرستد،
دلِ بمرد آرزوی کیمیاگر، زر پاکیزه و رخشان پرستد،
نهد در کوره بوته در دمد دم، پس آنگه زیبقِ لرزان پرستد،
نماند کیشِ جادوگر نهفته، ملول از آدم و پریان پرستد،
شنیدستی که رامشگر همه عمر، نوا و نغمه و الحان پرستد،
خمیده چون کمان پشتِ کشاورز، فشانده دانه و باران پرستد،

نپسندد باغبان هرگز کشتهٔ خویش، از آن رو لاله و ریحان پرستند،
ندانم از چه رو فرزند ایران، گه اطریش و گهی آلمان پرستند،
شناسم جمعی از مردان آزاد، در ایران کُنده و زندان پرستند،
حذر ز آئین حرص روسی خو، جفا و کینه و عُدوان پرستند،
چرا مشتی ز شاگردان پاریس، دل و دین داده و نسوان پرستند،
برون کرده ز دل مهر وطن را، دو زلف و قامت خوبان پرستند،

اگر پرسی ز کشتر پور داود،
جوان پارسی ایران پرستد،

POEMS OF JA'FAR-I-KHÁMNA'Í

(52)

The following poem, which might be entitled "a Persian patriot's nightmare," is by Ja'far-i-Khámna'í of Tabríz It was communicated to me by a friend and I do not know that it has ever been published before

عجب خوابی پریشان امشب منحوس می بینم، فضای پُرخطر پیش نظر محسوس می بینم،
فتاده کشتی سیّار استقلال خورشیدی، بگرداب حوادث ناخدا مأیوس می بینم،
شه و درباریان درخواب غفلت تنگ و دیگر سو، وطن پامال قهر انگلیس و روس می بینم،
دو گرگ آدمی خوار از پی اعدام یك گلّه، شده هم عهد و هم پیمان و هم مأنوس می بینم،
از این سان کین دو کج پالان بما بارند از هر سو، نزدیکی سپاه روس را در طوس می بینم،
مرضهائیکه بر جسم وطن گردیده مستولی، بعجز از چاره‌اش بقراط و جالینوس می بینم،
بدین بدبختی ما در لغت تعبیر وافی نیست، چنین لفظی نه در برهان نه در قاموس می بینم،
ز کف بیرون‌مان شد ثروت و ماندیم در ذلّت، ز فقر و فاقه ملّت‌را سر ملبوس می بینم،
بگردن طوق رقیّت سر تعلیمی دولت، کند قید اسارت از ادب پابوس می بینم،

۹ خورشید کاروان کوچی و ما خوش خفته در غفلت، بهوش از شکر مانم از غریو کوس می بینم،
گر از بانگ اذان امروز بیداری نشد ما را، کند بیدارمان روز دگر ناقوس می بینم،
بغفلت خفته‌ایم اندر مغاک محو و اضمحلال، حرامی در کمین با خدعه و سالوس می بینم،
خدایا خود بداد دین پاکت رس که در روزی، صلیب اندر فراز گنبد قابوس می بینم،
ز تأثیر نفاق مسلمین آوخ چسان گریم، لوای دین بدست مشرکین معکوس می بینم،
۱۰ هزار افسوس کلکم شکند محراب و مسجد را،
بزیر پای ترسازادگان مطموس می بینم،

(*Translation*)

(1) "A strangely disordered dream do I see on this ill-starred night,
I see visible before my sight a fate fraught with peril
I see the moving ship of Persian[1] Independence fallen
Into the whirlpool of misfortunes, and the Captain in despair
I see the King and his Courtiers sunk in the sleep of heedlessness,
While on the other hand I see my Country trampled by the wrath of the English and the Russians
I see two man-eating wolves, with intent to compass the destruction of a flock,
Linked by treaty, allied by promises, and grown familiar with one another
(5) In such wise do these two disingenuous allies[2] attack us on every side
That I see the Russian army at Tús (Mashhad) in the near future
As for those ills which have invaded the Constitution of our Country,

[1] ***Khurshídí*** means "Solar," "of the Sun," and, since the Lion and the Sun are the emblem of Persia I take it here to mean "Persian", just as China is called "the Celestial Empire"

[2] ***Kaj pálán*** means a beast of burden whose pack saddle is crooked, and is commonly used metaphorically for a shifty, dishonest and rascally fellow, or, to use the English slang equivalent, "a bad hat"

I see even Hippocrates and Galen unable to cure them

For these misfortunes of ours there is in the dictionary no adequate term

No such word do I find either in the *Burhán* or the *Qámús*[1]

Wealth hath escaped from our hands, and we remain in abasement

I see the Nation clothed in the garb of poverty and misery

With the yoke of servitude on the neck, with the rod of abasement overhead,

I see it politely kissing the fetters of its subjection!

(10) The Caravan starts in the morning, while we slumber in happy heedlessness

I see that not even at the sound of the drum[2] do we awaken from our intoxication

If we do not awake to-day at the sound of the *Azán*,

I see that the Bell will awaken us on another day[3]

We slumber heedlessly in the pit of annihilation and self-effacement,

While I see the robber, with his guile and hypocrisy, lying in ambush

O God, come Thyself to succour Thy Holy Religion, else speedily

I see the Cross set up over the Cupola of Qábús!

Alas! How can I weep [enough] at the result of Muslim dissensions?

I see the Standard of the Faith reversed by the hands of the infidels!

(15) A thousand times alas! May my pen break! Mosque and *Mihráb*

I see obliterated under the feet of the Christians!"

[1] The *Qámús* of al Fírúzábádí is one of the best-known Arabic dictionaries and the *Burhán i Qáti'* one of the most famous Persian lexicons

[2] The beating of a drum is employed to warn travellers that the caravan is about to start

[3] The *azán* is the Muhammadan as the bell is the Christian call to prayer The meaning is, "if the appeal of Islam cannot arouse us to-day the victorious bells of Christendom will give us a rude awakening to-morrow"

(53)

The following short poem, also by Ja'far-i-Khámna'í, is interesting on account of its form, which is a departure from the classical arrangement of rhymes, and in this respect resembles No 14 (pp 200–4) *supra*

(بوطن)

هر روز بیک منظرِ خونین بدر آئی، هر دم متجلّی تو بیک جلوهٔ جانسوز،
از سوزِ غمت مرغِ دلم هر شب و هر روز، با نغمهٔ نو تازه کند نوحه سرائی،

ای طلعتِ افسرده و ای صورت مجروح، آماجِ سیوفِ ستم آه ای وطنِ زار،
هر سو بگرم خیمه زده لشکرِ اندوه، محصورِ عدو مانده تو چون نقطهٔ پرگار،

محصورِ عدو یا خود اگر راست بگویم، ای شیر زبون کرده ترا روبهِ ترسو،
شمشیرِ جفا آخته روی تو ز هر سو،

تا چند بخوابی؟ بگشا چشم خود از هم، برخیز یکی صولتِ شیرانه نشان ده،
یا جان بستان یا که درین معرکه جان ده،

(*Translation*)

In some fresh blood-stained form at each day's dawning,
In some new garb of grief the whole night long
Thou comest, O my Country, and its song
My heart renews to celebrate thy mourning!

Unhappy Mother, with the wounded face,
And mournful mien, hemmed in by swords of foes,
And girt about by hosts of grievous woes,
Like circles which the compasses do trace

Yes, girt by foes, for now, the truth to tell,
O Lion by the cowardly fox abased,
By cruel swords on every side thou'rt faced

How long this sleep? Awake, unclose thine eyes!
Rouse thee for one last Lion-charge, and go
To yield thy life or else destroy thy foe!

TWO POEMS COMMUNICATED BY ASHRAF-ZÁDA

The two following poems were communicated to me on October 23, 1913, by Mírzá Maḥmúd Khán Ashraf-záda, formerly editor of the newspaper *Farwardín* (published at Urmiya in Ázarbáyján), who suffered so cruelly at the hands of the Russians in January 1912. He quoted them from memory and cannot vouch for their verbal exactitude, while, as will be seen, lines have here and there been forgotten and their places left blank.

(54)

This short poem, dealing with what is known in Persia as *Iḥtikár* or *Anbár-dárí* (*i.e.* making a "corner" in wheat or bread—an abuse which has frequently led to popular disturbances from ancient times), is by Mírzá Ḥusayn *Ṭabíb-záda*, poetically surnamed *Kamál*, who was the principal of the *Kamál* College (*Madrasa-i-Kamál*) at Tabríz, and afterwards edited a Persian paper of the same name in Egypt, in the second number of which these verses appeared. See *supra* No. 100 (pp. 60–1) and Nos. 283–4 (p. 128).

قطعهٔ احتکاریّه

تا محتکران را سرِ نان نان است، آشوبِ جهان است و خرابیِ زمان است،
آن طالعِ زیبای عدالت محاق است، آن طلعتِ نیکوی مُساوات نهان است،
ای طفلِ گرسنه مکن این ناله و الّا، روی تو و سیلی زکفِ محتکران است،
ای والده بر خاک دِه آن زیستِ آغوش، زیرا شر ارزان ز یکی لقمهٔ نان است،
فرمود قلم بسکه زبان قصّه بپرداخت، خوبیش بشد اوراقِ کمال این چه زبان است،

(Translation)

So long as the fingers of the bread-cornerers are on the bread
There is unrest in the world and ruin in the age
That fair ascendant star of Justice is eclipsed,
That beauteous face of Equality is hidden
O hungry child, cry not thus, or else
There will be a slap on thy face from the hands of the bread-cornerers!
O mother, surrender that ornament of thy embrace to the earth
For a human life is cheaper than a mouthful of bread!
The pen is wearied of talking so much of bread,
The pages of the *Kamál* are dyed with blood what hurt is there in this?

À propos of this holding back of corn from the people it is not out of place to quote the following verse which appeared in a *shab-nama* secretly published at Tabriz on a similar occasion

این قطره قطره باران کآید بکشت زاران، هر قطره اش خدنگی است بر چشم غلّه داران،

"These drops of rain which fall on the arable lands,
Each drop is an arrow in the eyes of the corn-holders!"

(55)

The following poem, also communicated from memory by Mírzá Mahmúd Ashraf-záda, is a *musammat* by Mírzá Muhammad Sádiq Khán *Adíbu'l-Mamálik*, which was published in the *Adab* newspaper at Mashhad (See Nos 38–40 pp 37–9 *supra*) Some of the lines and verses which Ashraf záda had forgotten have been supplied (also from memory) by Mírzá Kázimzáda

(1)

سر خیز شتربانا بر بند کجاوه، کز چرخ عیان گشت کنون رایت کاوه،
از طول سفر حسرتِ من گشت علاوه، * * *
* * * در دیدهٔ من بنگر دریاچهٔ ساوه،
در سینه ام آتشکدهٔ فارس نمودار،

(۲)

مائیم که از پادشهان باج گرفتیم، از پیکرشان دیبه و دیباج گرفتیم،
مائیم که از دریا امواج گرفتیم، دیهیم و سریر از گهر و عاج گرفتیم،

* * * * * *

اندیشه نکردیم ز طوفان و ز تیّار،

(۳)

در مصر و عدن غلغله از شوکت ما بود، در چین وخُتن ولوله از قدرت ما بود،
در اندلس و روم عیان قوّت ما بود، غرناطه و اشبیلیه در طاعت ما بود،

* * * فرمان همایون قضا آیت ما بود،

جاری بزمین و فلك و ثابت و سیّار،

(٤)

مرغان بساتین‌را منقار بریدند، اوراق ریاحین‌را طومار دریدند،
گاوان شکمبواره بگلزار چریدند، گرگان ز پی یوسف بسیار دویدند،
تا عاقبت اورا سوی بازار کشیدند، یاران عزیزش و اغیار خریدند،
آوخ ز فروشنده دریغا ز خریدار،

(٥)

چون خانه خدا خُفت عسس ماند ز رفتن، خادم پی خوردن شد و بانو پی خُفتن،
جاسوس پس پرده پی راز نهفتن، قاضی همه جا درطلب رشوه گرفتن،
واعظ بفسون خواندن و افسانه شنفتن، نه وقت شنیدن دگر و موقع گفتن،
آمد سر همسایه برون از پس دیوار،

(٦)

چون برّهٔ بیچاره به چوپانش بپیوست، از بیم صحرا در به خُنْت و به نشست،
خرسی شکار آمد و بازوش فرو بست، شد برّهٔ ما طعمهٔ آن خرس زبردست،
افسوس بر آن برّهٔ نوزادهٔ سرمست، * * *
فریاد از آن خرس کُهن سال شکم خوار،

(٧)

افسوس که این مزرعه‌را آب گرفته، دهقانِ جگر سوخته‌را خواب گرفته،
رخسارِ هُنر گونهٔ مهتاب گرفته، چشمانِ خرد پرده ز خوناب گرفته،
خونِ دلِ ما رنگِ می ناب گرفته، * * *
ثروت شده بی مایه و صحّت شده بیمار،

(٨)

ابری شده بالا و گرفتست فضارا، وز دود شرر تیره نموده است هوارا،
سوزانده بچرخ اختر و در خاک گیارا، آتش زده سُکّانِ زمین‌را و سمارا،
ای واسطهٔ رحمت حق بهر خدارا، زین خاک بگردان رهِ طوفان بلارا،
بشکاف ز هم سینهٔ این ابر شرر بار،

THE LAMENT OF THE KINE

(56)

The following very simple and even uncouth verses, wherein a Persian peasant is supposed to apostrophize his cow, appeared under the heading *Adabiyyát-i-Bábá Ahmad* ("Bábá Ahmad's Literary Column") in No 11 of the *Chanta-i-Pá-barahna* ("Beggar's Wallet"), which bears no date.



'The Lament of the Kine'

From No. [illegible] of the *[illegible]* or '[illegible] Wallet'

ادبیّات بابا احمد

ای زعفر سیاه چرده، تا حشر بخواب بیم مُرده،
سیمای نگاو مهربانی، باقی همه‌را جودت میدانی،
ای داده بپاره سنگ پهلو، ارباب تو خفته در اپرقو،
بر دار دو بوسهٔ تو از جهر، بر گوی بگاو از ره مهر،
ای رنگ پلو بخواب دیده، ای بوی کباب نا شنیده،
ای گاوِ من ای شریکِ زحمت، رحمت بتو صد هزار رحمت،
دایم تو برحمتی و رنجی، از رنج تو برده اند گنجی،
ای گاو اگر نبودی ایران، ایران بودی تمام ویران،
از نان نگشته اشکمت سیر، با خورده بعمرِ خویش انجیر،
ایران شده زنده از وجودت، آباد زمانه هم ز بودت،
ای حسرتِ نان بگور بُرده، ای رنگ پریده و فسرده،
گر نسلِ تو از زمانه خرد، نان و پنیرِ عالمی بورد،
ای خفته بپهلوی معلان، بر جبر و بنا سوی سنان،
ای آیتِ رحمتِ خدائی، ای مونسِ من دم جدائی،
بر جبر که موسمِ بهار است، هنگامهٔ کشتن و شیار است،
ای گاو ضعیف لاغرِ من، معبودِ هنود و مفخرِ من،
بر جبر ز لانهات برون شو، شاید بکف آوری دو من جَو،
ای گاو بدان که مدّعی کیست، این لاغری ترا سبب چیست،
شد فصلِ بهار و موسمِ دَی، گردید چو عمرِ آدمی طَی،
ارباب ببرده یونجه و کاه، مائیم رعیّت او بود شاه،
ارباب بسوی دِه شتابان، از بهرِ تمرّج بیابان،
شاه است و دلش هر آنچه خواهد، از روزی ما و تو بکاهد،
هین برّه و جوجه کن تهیّه، هم بهرِ خوراك هم هدیّه،

زحمت ز من و نوا است در دهر ، از بهر یکی شکر دگر زهر ،
ای همدم گاو و مونس وی ، برخیز گذشت موسم دی ،
من با تو مدام در تکاپو ، کار از خر و خوردنش ز یابو ،
برخیز بگاو کن حکایت ، از زحمت و رنج بی شکایت ،
ما بهر شیار و تخم کردن ، یابو و آقا برای خوردن ،
این گاو ترا بود پرستار ، در کشت و درو معاون و یار ،
این رسم زمانهٔ دو رنگ است
یک رنج کش آن یکی زرنگ است ،

From a literary point of view these verses have little value, but they are interesting as an attempt to arouse the Persian peasant to a sense of his miserable condition, and as presenting a certain analogy with the opening of the ancient Zoroastrian *Gâthâs* (probably the oldest literary monument of the Iranian people), in which, to quote the words prefixed by Dr L H Mills to his translation of Yasna xxix, "the Soul of the Kine as representing the herds of the holy Iranian people, their only means of honourable livelihood, raises its voice, and, expressing the profoundest needs of an afflicted people, addresses Ahura and His Divine Order, *Asha*, in bitterness[1]" In verses 1–4 the poet addresses the peasant and bids him speak to his cow in the words of verses 5–24 In the last five verses the poet again addresses the peasant as follows

"O companion of the cow and her friend arise, for the season of Winter hath passed!
I am ever travailing with thee the work is the ass's and its food the pony's
Arise, and tell the cow about uncomplaining trouble and labour
We are for the ploughing and the tilling, the pony and the Master for the eating
This cow is thy servant, the friendly helper in sowing and reaping
This is the way of inconstant Fortune one bears the toil and another is clever [enough to enjoy the proceeds]."

[1] Max Muller's *Sacred Books of the East Series*, vol xxxi, *the Zend Avesta* Part III, by L H Mills, p 3

I conclude this selection with five epigrams, hitherto, I believe, unpublished The first, of which the author desires to remain anonymous, is directed against M Mornard, the Belgian official who replaced Mr Morgan Shuster as Treasurer-General The low opinion which it expresses of the former may be profitably compared with the high opinion of the latter expressed in No 33 (pp 250–2 *supra*)

(57)

گویند مردمانِ اروپا که کذب و شَیْد، با طینت اهالیِ ایران سرشته‌اند،
هستند اگر نفوسِ اروپا چو مورنارد، ایرانیان بنسبت ایشان فرشته‌اند،

(*Translation*)

The Persian nature—so the Franks repeat—
Is fraught with falsehood, fashioned with deceit
Yet if by Mornard we may judge the Franks
The Persian nature with the Angels ranks!

(58)

The following epigram is remarkable amongst the poems cited as being directed against the Constitutionalists, though the author, *Maliku'l-Kalam* of Kurdistan poetically surnamed *Majdí*, whose proper name is 'Abdu'l-Majíd, the son of the late Mírzá Shukru'lláh *Fakhru'l-Kuttab*, subsequently stated that it was only intended to apply to 'those robbers who came forward in the garb of Constitutionalists"

(59)

زین پس مشروطه خواهان بر ضعیفان، چو استبدادیان بیداد کردند،
ضعیفان از برای دفعِ ایشان، ز استبداد استمداد کردند،

(*Translation*)

Those for Democracy who claim to speak
Like Despots so oppress the poor and weak
That these at last, their malice to escape,
E'en from the Despots now assistance seek

The same poet, in fact, has the two following pieces of verse in favour of the Constitution and against the Autocracy.

(60)

ملکِ ایران بود مانند مریضِ محتضر، اهلِ استبداد بودند از فسادِ اخلاطِ وی،
ر برای دفعِ اخلاطِ ردیّه زین مریض، مجلسِ شورای ملّی گشت انتیمونِ قی،
گر بیابد ره بطبعِ این مریض اخلاط باز، میکند طومارِ عمرِ این مریض اخلاط طی،

(*Translation*)

The Kingdom of Persia was like unto a man sick unto death,
The partisans of Despotism were in their mischief, the malignant humours
For the expulsion of these evil humours from the sick man
The National Assembly became as an emetic of antimony
If these humours should again find their way into the constitution of the patient,
They will roll up the scroll of the sick man's life!

(61)

گر نظر در کارِ استبداد و مشروطه کنی، فرقِ استبداد با مشروطه باشد بیشمار،
وقتِ استبداد میجُستند سگ از بهرِ صید، گاهِ مشروطه بجویند آدمی از بهرِ کار،

(*Translation*)

If you look at the deeds of Despotism and Constitutionalism
The differences between Despotism and Constitutionalism are countless
In the days of Despotism they sought dogs for the chase
In the days of the Constitution they seek men for work!

I much regret that the limits imposed on the size of this book do not permit me to add to the number of poems here cited The mass of available material was so great that I have been obliged to limit the selection almost entirely to

contemporary political and topical poetry, and of this to admit only what had hitherto remained unpublished, or had been published only in an ephemeral form in the newspapers, and which, for some reason, appeared to me of some especial interest in form or matter

Amongst the contemporary poems separately published in the form of tracts or pamphlets I should like especially to mention a remarkable *tasdís* (or "six-some") based on a *qasída* of the celebrated classical poet Kháqání of Shírwán by my very accomplished friend Husayn Dánish, son of Mírzá Háshim of Isfahan, who, long resident at Constantinople in the service of the Turkish Government, is recognized as one of the leading contemporary writers both in Persian and Turkish This poem entitled (in Turkish) 'the Ruins of Ctesiphon' (*Medá'in Kharába-lari*) is dedicated to another most learned, accomplished and single-minded friend of mine, Dr Rizá Tevfíq, Deputy for Adrianople in the last Turkish Parliament, who contributes a critical and historical preface It was published at Constantinople in A H 1330 (A D 1912), when Persia's fortunes were at their darkest and her foes at their cruellest as a small tract of 37 pp at the modest price of three piastres (about 7½*d*) In the same year, on March 21, on the occasion of the Persian *Naw-rúz*, or New Year's Day, the same poet published (also at Constantinople) another fine poem 'for Persia" (*Írán ichun*), dedicated to the eminent Turkish man of letters Tevfíq Fikret Bey, entitled "A New Year's Present" (*Hadiyya-i-Sál*), and comprising 56 couplets From both of these works I should like to have quoted here both on account of the beauty and pathos of the verses, and on account of my regard for the author, but both poems should be read in their entirety to be judged fairly, and moreover, can without difficulty be obtained from Constantinople

Mention has already been made in Part I of this book of a periodical publication, in magazine form, issued at irregular intervals, beginning on April 20, 1908, entitled *Dabíriyya*, written by Mírzá Sayyid 'Abdu'r-Rahmán *Dabíru'l-Mamálik*, and containing an extensive selection of the verses (estimated by their author at 35,000) composed by him during the preceding thirty

or forty years Most of these poems refer to the leading Persian statesmen and courtiers of this period, and many of them are satires, which naturally had to remain in manuscript until the greater freedom of the Press inaugurated by the Constitutional Régime permitted their publication I am indebted to Mr H. L. Rabino for a bound volume containing a good many numbers of this magazine. The poems which it contains vary a good deal in quality and merit, and, though some of them deal with events subsequent to the deposition of Muhammad 'Alí and the enthronement of his young son Sultán Ahmad, the reigning sovereign, they are on the whole of an old-fashioned type, and the satirical poems incline to that coarseness of language which is characteristic of most of the older *hajwiyyát* and *hazliyyát*

APPENDIX

A Brief Chronology of the Persian Revolution.

From December, 1905 to April, 1912

CHRONOLOGY OF THE PERSIAN REVOLUTION

For convenience of reference, and for the better understanding of the sequence of events illustrated by the preceding poems, a brief statement of the principal events and epochs of the Persian Revolution, or Constitutional Movement, is here appended. Details of these events down to the Nationalist victory of July, 1909, the capture of Tihrán, and the deposition of the ex-Shah Muhammad 'Ali, will be found in my *Persian Revolution*, 1905-1909 (Cambridge, 1910). The connected history of the subsequent period, which I hope to embody in another volume, has not yet been written, and must be pieced together from Blue Books and press cuttings, supplemented by such oral and written evidence as is obtainable. The admirable Persian "History of the Awakening of the Persians" (*Ta'rikh-i Bidári-yi-Iráníyán*) of the *Názimu'l-Islam* of Kirmán, of which up to the present time only the Introduction (pp. 272), first volume (pp. 255), and second volume (pp. 240) have been published, does not at present carry the story beyond July, 1906, and so stops short of the granting of the Constitution by Muzaffaru'd Dín Shah (August 5, 1906) and the opening of the First National Assembly (October 7, 1906). For all events before these dates it is by far the richest source available, and contains the texts of many important documents and masses of detail not to be found elsewhere.

From the earliest historical times until 1906 the government of Persia was, both in theory and in practice, an absolute despotism, of which the general character is well described by Mr. R. G. Watson at pp. 12-13 and 15-20 of his admirable *History of Persia from the beginning of the Nineteenth Century to the Year* 1858. Signs of a new ferment appeared in Persia, as in so many other countries, in the memorable year 1848, at the end of the reign of Muhammad Shah and the beginning of that of his successor, Nasiru'd Dín Sháh, when the Bábi insurrection threatened for three or four years the stability of the Qajar Dynasty. This movement, though essentially religious, was not, as the Comte de Gobineau has well indicated, devoid of political significance, and above all showed the Persian character in a new, unexpected and heroic light. It was contemporary with and violently opposed by one of the greatest Ministers whom Persia has produced in recent times, Mirza Taqi Khán *Amir-i-Kabír*, whose courage, integrity and far-sighted political vision have led the recent historians of the Constitution to claim him as the fore-runner of the Constitutional Movement, or at any rate as a very wise and sincere patriot. Spiritually this may be true, but historically he belongs entirely to the "Days of Autocracy" (*Ayyam-i-Istibdád*), that long period of some 2500 years through which the history of Persia can be clearly and certainly traced, and which by analogy should be called (for I have not

actually met with the expression) "the Greater Autocracy" (*Istibdád-i Kabír*), in contradistinction to "the Lesser Autocracy" (*Istibdád-i-Ṣaghír*) which lasted from June 23, 1908 to July 16, 1909, and of which we shall shortly speak

The history of the Constitutional struggle in Persia may be divided into the following periods

I The Preparatory Period, or Prodromata of the Revolution

II The First Constitutional Period (August 5, 1906–June 23, 1908), or Period of the First *Majlis* or National Assembly (October 7, 1906–June 23, 1908)

III The "Lesser Autocracy" (*Istibdád-i-Ṣaghír*), during which the Constitution was suspended and the ex-Sháh, Muhammad 'Alí, re-established despotic rule (June 23, 1908–July 16, 1909)

IV The Second Constitutional Period (July 16, 1909–December 24, 1911) which was brought to an end by the Russian Ultimatums of November 12 and November 29, the expulsion of Mr W Morgan Shuster, Treasurer General, and the invasion of North Persia by the Russians, with the concomitant atrocities committed by them and their myrmidons at Tabriz, Rasht and elsewhere (December, 1911 and January, 1912 onwards)

V The present anomalous period, which can be described neither as Autocratic nor Constitutional, the Persian Government being terrorized and paralysed by Russia, which is gradually converting all North Persia into what is called in the cant of diplomacy a "Veiled Protectorate" (January 1, 1912 to the date of writing)

Some of the principal events and dates of the first four of these periods (for the last appears to be but a death agony or mortal lethargy) will now be given

I *The Preparatory Period*

The beginning of this cannot be exactly fixed but it may be divided into two parts, one of intellectual preparation and propaganda, and one of actual revolt against the prevailing intolerable conditions The intellectual preparation was chiefly the work of two men, Sayyid Jamalu'd-Dín al-Afghání (born 1839 died 1897) and Prince Malkom Khán *Názimu'd Dawla* (born 1833, died 1908), and their disciples. The manifold political activities of the former, which are fully discussed in the first chapter of my *Persian Revolution*, began, so far as the Near East is concerned, about 1870, when he visited Egypt and Constantinople for the first time In Persia his direct activity was greatest during the years 1886–1890, when he was expelled ignominiously, but his indirect influence survived his death in 1897, and was the chief factor in the revolt against the Tobacco Regie (May, 1890–January, 1892) and the assassination of Násiru'd Dín Sháh (May 1, 1896) by Mírzá Rizá of Kirmán, one of the Sayyid's disciples Prince Malkom Khán's monthly paper, the *Qánún* ("Law"), which all students of the subject agree in regarding as one of the most potent literary factors in bringing about

the Constitutional Movement, first appeared on February 20, 1890, and seems to have continued publication for about three years and a half, forty-one monthly numbers having been issued in all The successful revolt against the Tobacco Concession in 1891 was a momentous epoch in the history of Persia, and may fairly be regarded as the starting-point of the Revolution, of which, however, the immediate prodromata began in December, 1905 The chief of these events, with their dates, down to the granting of the Constitution on August 5, 1906, are as follows

1905

Dec 11, 1905 Merchants and Sayyids bastinadoed by *'Alá'u'd-Dawla*, with the approval of *'Aynu'd-Dawla*, on account of the rise in the price of sugar Bazaars closed and assembly at *Masjid i Sháh*

Dec 13, 1905 Some two thousand *mullás*, students and merchants, headed by Sayyid Muhammad Ṭabaṭaba'i and Sayyid 'Abdu'lláh Bahbahání, leave Ṭihrán as a protest and take sanctuary at the Shrine of Sháh 'Abdu'l 'Azím This is known as the *Hijrat i Ṣughrá* or "Lesser Exodus" (هجرت صغری)

1906

Jan 12, 1906 After prolonged negotiations with the Sháh and his Court and Ministers, the fugitives (*muhajirín*) return to Ṭihrán on receiving from the Shah an autograph rescript (*dast khatt*), which was publicly read in the Mosque on the same day, promising the establishment of a "House of Justice" (*'Adalat khána*), the dismissal of the obnoxious Ministers *'Aynu'd-Dawla* and *'Alá'u'd Dawla*, and other demands of the people as voiced by their spiritual leaders the *mullás* On this day, according to the "History of the Awakening of the Persians," the cry of 'Long live the Persian Nation'" (*Zinda bád Millat i-Írán !*) was first heard On the following day Ṭihrán was illuminated as a sign of joy

June 17, 1906 Mírza Hasan *Rushdiyya*, *Majdu'l Islám* of Kirmán and Mírzá Áqa of Isfahán were exiled to Kalat

June 21, 1906 During a successful attempt made by the people to rescue one of their leaders, who had been arrested by the soldiers, some fifteen persons, including two Sayyids named Husayn and 'Abdu'l-Majíd, were shot dead The increasing discontent of the people, who saw themselves cheated of the promised reforms, was met by increasing severity on the part of the Government

July 6, 1906 Sayyid Muhammad Ṭabátaba'i preached to a vast crowd, denouncing the existing tyranny and misgovernment and urging the absolute necessity of a "House of Justice"

July, 1906 The leading ecclesiastics, accompanied by a vast concourse of students, merchants and others, left Ṭihrán for the holy city of Qum, where they took sanctuary This is what is known as the *Hijrat-i-Kubrá*, or "Greater Exodus" (هجرت کبری) About the

same time a number of merchants, bankers, tradesmen and others, with the permission of the British Chargé d'Affaires, Mr Grant Duff, took refuge in the grounds of the British Legation at Ṭihrán The numbers increased daily, until they finally reached some 13,000 or 14,000 souls.

Aug 5, 1906 Muzaffaru'd-Dín Sháh finally gave way, granted a Constitution and Parliament, dismissed the *'Aynu'd-Dawla*, and promised monetary compensation to the relatives of the murdered Sayyids This event, celebrated a few days later with great rejoicings as "the National Victory" (*Fath i-Millí*), marks the beginning of the Constitutional Epoch According to the Muhammadan Calendar it fell on the 14th of Jumáda II, A H 1324, and its first anniversary was celebrated with great splendour and enthusiasm on the same date of the following Muhammadan year, corresponding with July 25, 1907, under the title of "the National Festival" (*Jashn i Millí*)

II *The First Constitutional Period*

(*Mashrúta-i Awwal*), Aug 5, 1906–June 23, 1908

Aug 19, 1906 Solemn official opening of the new House of Parliament in presence of the high ecclesiastical authorities, who were entertained as the Sháh's guests for three days

Sept 9, 1906 Electoral Law promulgated

Sept 18–27, 1906 A number of citizens of Tabriz took refuge at the British Consulate there as a protest against the tyranny of Muhammad 'Alí Mírzá, the Crown Prince, afterwards Shah

Oct 7, 1906 The first *Majlis*, or National Assembly was opened under the presidency of *Saní'u d-Dawla*

Nov 23, 1906 Proposed joint Anglo Russian Loan of £400,000 rejected by the *Majlis*

Nov 25, 1906 The newspaper *Majlis* first appeared

Dec 27, 1906 The newspaper *Nida-yi-Watan* first appeared

Dec 30, 1906 The Fundamental Laws were ratified by Muzaffaru'd-Dín Sháh and promulgated, and the form of the Persian Constitution was thus fixed and defined

1907

Jan 8, 1907 Death of Muzaffaru'd-Dín Sháh

Jan 19 1907 Coronation of his son Muhammad 'Alí, of which the *Majlis* received no official notification, and to which none of its Members were invited

Feb 7, 1907 Arrival at Tihran of the Tabriz Deputies, including Sayyid Taqí zada, who received a great ovation

Feb 10, 1907 The Shah was compelled by the *Majlis* to dismiss M. Naus, the unpopular Belgian Chief of the Customs

March 17, 1907 The *Mushíru'd Dawla* resigned the Premiership

April 26, 1907. The *Amínu's-Sulṭán*, or *Atábak-i-A'ẓam*, returned

to Persia after three and a half years' exile to assume, at the invitation of the Sháh, the position of Premier

April 29, 1907 The Ṭihrán *Hablu'l-Matín* newspaper founded

May, 1907 Plot contrived by Rahím Khán and his son to raise a disturbance in Tabríz and murder leading Constitutionalists It was believed to have been instigated by the Shah

May 26, 1907 This being the eve of the Sháh's birthday, and Ṭihrán decorated and prepared for illumination, the people pulled down the decorations and would not allow them to be replaced until the Sháh handed over Rahím Khan to the Ministry of Justice to stand his trial for conspiracy

May 30, 1907 The weekly newspaper *Súr i-Isráfíl* first appeared

June, 1907 Rebellion of the Shah's brother *Sáláru'd Dawla* at Hamadan He was defeated on the historic field of Nihawand, and surrendered, on his safety being guaranteed, to the Shah's representative on June 22

July 25, 1907 Celebration of the "National Festival" (*Jashn-i Millí*) on the first anniversary (according to the Muhammadan Calendar) of the granting of the Constitution

Aug 31, 1907 The Anglo-Russian Agreement was signed The *Aminu's-Sultan*, or *Atábak i-A'ẓam*, was shot by 'Abbas Áqa, a money-changer of Tabriz, as he was leaving the National Assembly, and died half an hour later The assassin committed suicide

Sept 4, 1907 Sir Cecil Spring Rice's celebrated Memorandum (*Yád dásht*), designed to allay the anxieties of the Persians as to the scope and aim of the Anglo Russian Agreement, was communicated to the Persian Foreign Minister, and was published ten days later in the Tihrán *Hablu'l Matín* (No 115)

Sept 10, 1907 *Ihtishámu's Saltana* elected President of the Assembly

Sept 13, 1907 Death of Nasru'llah Khan *Mushíru'd Dawla* *Sa'du'd-Dawla* made Foreign Minister

Oct 1, 1907 The Princes of the Blood and Nobles of the Court attended the National Assembly and swore an oath of allegiance to the Constitution

Oct 2, 1907 *Sa'du'd Dawla* resigned, and a new Cabinet was formed under the presidency of the *Násiru'l Mulk* (the present Regent) This Cabinet resigned on the 14th of December, 1907

Oct 6, 1907 The fortieth day (*chilla*) after the death of 'Abbás Áqa, who killed the *Aminu's Sultan*, was celebrated with great enthusiasm and circumstance by a large number of his admirers

Nov 6, 1907 The newspaper *Ruhu'l-Qudus* ("the Holy Spirit") published a violent and threatening article addressed to the Sháh, and was suppressed by the National Assembly in consequence

Nov 12, 1907 The Sháh visited the National Assembly in state, and again swore fidelity to the Constitution

Dec 15, 1907 Beginning of the "Abortive Coup d'État" (called by the Persians *Wáqi'a i-Maydán-i-Túp-khána*, "the Event of the Artillery Square," which place served as the rallying-point of the Shah's hired ruffians) Arrest and threatened destruction by the Sháh of the *Násiru'l-Mulk*, who was saved by the intervention of the British Legation, and left Persia next day for Europe Complete triumph of the Assembly and collapse of the Shah on Dec 22 A new Cabinet was formed under *Nizámu's-Saltana* The *Zillu's-Sultán* was ordered to leave Ṭihrán

1908

Feb 1908 An attempt was made on the Shah's life by means of a bomb, which killed one of his attendants and wrecked an automobile The thrower of the bomb was never identified

April, 1908 The *Ihtishámu's Saltana* resigned the Presidency of the National Assembly, and was succeeded by *Mumtazu'd-Dawla* Several prominent reactionaries who had taken part in the Abortive Coup d'État of the preceding December, or in the murder of the Zoroastrian Arbáb Firidun, were exiled to Kalat, or bastinadoed or both Amongst these were *Saní' i Hazrat* (afterwards hanged on July 29, 1909) and *Muqtadir i-Nizám*

May, 1908 Increasing tension between the Shah and the National Assembly

June 2, 1908 Intervention, with implied threats, of the Russian Minister M de Hartwig and the British Chargé d'Affaires Mr Marling on behalf of the Shah

June 3, 1908 Flight of the Sháh, escorted by Persian Cossacks under the command of the Russian Colonel Liakhoff, from Tihran to his adjacent garden, the *Bagh i Sháh*

June 5, 1908 At the invitation of the Sháh, a deputation of notables waited on him at the *Bágh i Shah*, but were treacherously arrested

June 11, 1908 The Sháh proclaimed martial law and threatened to bombard the *Masjid i-Sipahsálár* unless the people there assembled dispersed

June 12, 1908 The Shah demanded the expulsion of eight popular leaders, control of the Press, and disarmament of the National Volunteers

June 23, 1908 The Bombardment of the Majlis (*Túp-bandi-yi Majlis*), Coup d'État (*Zarba i Hukúmat*), or Reactionary Triumph (*Waq'a i Irtijá'iyya*), carried out by the instrumentality of Colonel Liakhoff and the other Russian officers of the Persian Cossack Brigade A number of leaders of the popular party were arrested and carried captive to *Bágh-i-Sháh* Hajji Mirza Ibrahim Aqa, Deputy for Tabriz, was killed

June 24, 1908 Mírzá Jahangir Khan of Shíraz, editor of the *Súr-i-Isráfíl*, and the *Maliku'l-Mutakallimin*, a prominent orator, were strangled in the *Bágh-i Shah* Some of the Nationalists whose lives were in danger took refuge in the British Legation Many houses

of persons obnoxious to the Sháh, including those of his uncle the *Ẓillu's-Sultán*, and his cousin Prince *Jalálu'd-Dawla*, were destroyed and looted. Colonel Liakhoff was appointed military governor of Ṭihrán.

III "*The Lesser Tyranny*" *or* "*Autocracy*" (*Istibdád-i-Ṣaghír*).

During this period, which lasted from the Coup d'État of June 23, 1908, and the destruction of the First National Assembly until the Nationalist victory and deposition of Muhammad 'Alí on July 16, 1909, the Constitution was suspended and Reaction was dominant in Ṭihrán Tabríz, however, rallied gallantly to the Constitutional Cause, under the leadership of Sattar Khan and Báqir Khan, expelled the Reactionaries, and sustained a siege of nine months, which was brought to an end on April 29, 1909, by the entrance of Russian troops under General Znarsky Meanwhile its resistance had given time and encouragement to the Nationalists, who were at first bewildered and discouraged by the Coup d'Etat, to rally, and two armies were gradually formed, one at Rasht under the nominal leadership of the *Sipahdár*, another consisting of the Bakhtiyárí tribesmen under the leadership of their chief *Sardár i-As'ad*, and these two forces gradually converged until they effected a junction at Karach to the west of Ṭihrán on July 8, 1909 After indecisive skirmishes at Shahabád and Badámak, a body of the Nationalists, eluding the vigilance of the Royalist troops and the Cossack Brigade, slipped through the lines of their opponents and entered Ṭihrán on July 13 Fighting continued in the capital for four days, until finally, on Friday, July 16, the ex Sháh took refuge in the Russian Legation, which act was considered as tantamount to abdication, and Colonel Liakhoff and the Cossack Brigade surrendered The ex-Sháh's son, Sultan Ahmad, aged only twelve years, was proclaimed King, and the aged '*Aḍudu'l-Mulk* Regent, the Constitution was re-established, and steps were taken as soon as possible to convene a new *Majlis* or National Assembly The principal events of this period of thirteen months, with their dates, are as follows

August 4, 1908 The defenders of Tabríz are greatly encouraged by news of the successful Revolution in Turkey

August 20, 1908 '*Aynu'd-Dawla* and the *Sipahdar* arrive before Tabríz to prosecute the siege

Sept 16, 1908 The "Race-course Incident" at Ṭihrán, where Indian *suwárs* of the British Legation guard are attacked by Persian Cossacks Colonel Liakhoff is compelled to apologize, and the incident is hushed up

Oct 1, 1908 Sir George Barclay arrives at Ṭihrán as British Minister

Oct 5, 1908 Defeat of Royalists at Tabríz

Oct 11, 1908. Four hundred Persian Cossacks under the command of the Russian Captain Ushakoff leave Ṭihrán to take part in the siege of Tabríz

Oct 12, 1908 Further Nationalist success at Tabríz.

Oct 17, 1908 Russia threatens to intervene at Tabríz, but Sir Edward Grey informs her that such intervention "will create a very bad impression" in England, and she desists

Oct 30, 1908 Formation of the Persia Committee in London

Nov 7, 1908 Fictitious demonstration against the revival of the Constitution at the *Bágh-i-Sháh*

November (middle) M de Hartwig, the Russian Minister, leaves Tihrán for good

Nov 19, 1908 The Sháh issues a proclamation declaring that he will not restore the old or grant any new Constitution

December (middle) Expulsion of M Panoff, the Bulgarian revolutionary and correspondent of the Russian paper *Ryech* from Tihrán by the Russian Legation

1909

Jan 5, 1909 *Ṣamṣámu's Saltana* at the head of a Bakhtiyárí force takes possession of Isfahan, expels the Shah's representative, and declares for the Constitution

January (end) Arrival of Mr W A Moore as correspondent of the *Manchester Guardian*, *Daily News* and *Daily Chronicle* at Tabriz

Feb 8, 1909 Rasht is seized by the Nationalists, the Shah's governor killed, and the Constitution proclaimed

Feb 11 1909 The last road open into Tabriz, that from Julfa, is occupied by the Royalists, and the blockade of the city completed

Feb 22, 1909 Sattar Khan vainly endeavours to re-open the Julfa Road

March 7, 1909 Sattar Khan's "distinguished personal courage" praised by Mr Wratislaw, the British Consul at Tabriz

April 20, 1909 With Sir Edward Grey's approval, it was decided to send Russian troops to raise the siege of starving Tabriz, open the roads, and bring in supplies

April 21, 1909 A last attempt was made by the besieged to break out of Tabríz to obtain provisions The *sortie* was led by Mr W A Moore and Mr Baskerville, a young American The latter was killed

April 29, 1909 Arrival of the Russian force under General Znarsky at Tabriz

May 5, 1909 The Constitutionalist army of Rasht occupied Qazwín

May 6, 1909 Persian Cossacks commanded by the Russian Captain Zapolski were sent out to guard the Karach bridge, and the Nationalists were advised by the Russian Legation, with threats, to desist from their advance

May 17, 1909 The *Sipahdár* formulates the four demands of the Constitutionalists.

May 22, 1909 Yúsuf of Hukmabád (who was afterwards, in Jan 1912, most cruelly put to death and his body cut in two and hung up in

the street by *Shujá'u'd-Dawla*, the Russian *protégé*) was arrested by the Russians and his house blown up with dynamite at Tabríz

May (latter part) Sattár Khán, Báqir Khán, Taqí-záda, and other leading Constitutionalists take refuge in the Turkish Consulate at Tabríz as a protest against the high-handed actions of the Russians

June 17, 1909 The Bakhtiyarís begin their march on Ṭihrán

June 23, 1909 The advance guard of the Bakhtiyarís reaches Qum

June 27, 1909 Further attempt on the part of the British Minister and the Russian Chargé d'Affaires to check the Bakhtiyári advance

June 30, 1909 Russian expeditionary force assembled at Bákú

July 4, 1909 Skirmish at Sháhábad Eight demands formulated by the *Sipahdár*

July 4–6, 1909 Armistice of two days

July 8, 1909 Two or three thousand Russian troops disembarked at Anzalí

July 11, 1909 Russian troops reach Qazwín Skirmish at Bádamak

July 12, 1909 Fighting renewed at Bádamak

July 13, 1909 Ṭihrán entered by part of the Nationalist forces headed by Bakhtiyarís After four days' fighting (July 13–16) during which some 500 men were killed (no European being hurt) Muhammad 'Alí took refuge in the Russian Legation and abdicated Colonel Liakhoff and the Cossack Brigade surrendered This event is known as *Fath-i Millí* ("the National Victory," فتح ملی) with which the Third Period, called "the Lesser Tyranny" (*Istibdád-i Saghír*) concludes

IV *The Second Constitutional Period* (*Mashrúta-i-Thání*), beginning with the accession of Sultan Ahmad Shah, and ending with the dissolution of the Second National Assembly and the Russian aggressions of Dec 1911 and Jan 1912[1]

July 18, 1909 The *quondam* Crown Prince (*Walí 'ahd*), Sulṭán Ahmad, was proclaimed Shah, entered Ṭihrán, where he was enthusiastically received, on July 20, held his first reception (*darbar*) on July 21, and was formally recognized by Russia and England on the same or the following day

July 26, 1909 The ex-Sháh was offered a pension of £5000 a year on condition of his leaving Persia at once Russia threatens a punitive expedition against the Shahseven tribesmen, and increases the number of her troops at Qazwín to 2300 men A special Court martial (*Díwán-i-Hárb*) was instituted to try political offenders at Ṭihran

[1] As my *Persian Revolution* of 1905–1909, though recording the opening of the Second National Assembly on Nov 15, 1909, gives a continued narrative of events only to the Conquest of Tihran in July, 1909, I have made the chronology of this period very much fuller than the previous ones, though it is covered by Mr Morgan Shuster's admirable work the *Strangling of Persia* (published in 1912) Mr Shuster's narrative, however, only becomes full and continuous from the date of his arrival in Persia (May 11, 1911)

ution of *Mufákhiru'l-Mulk* (former Head of d *Saní' ı-Hazrat*

onel Liakhoff recalled to Russia He left

ution of the *Ajúdan bashí*, who commanded *Majlis* on June 23, 1908, and of Shaykh of complicity in the murder of Mirza Mustafá, yaní, and one of the students of the German

h's pension fixed at £15,000 a year

Zillu's Sultan, uncle of the ex-Sháh, reached e he was detained, and not allowed to leave paid a forfeit of £60,000, which he only ıst 23

n Khán plunders an Armenian village in res the inhabitants Taqı-záda arrives at e Reactionary Mir Hashim is captured

ashim and his brother are hanged

of the editor of the Tihrán *Hablu'l-Matin*, (see p 74 *supra*), for publishing an article of Islam He was sentenced to two years

xtraordinary National Council (*Majlis-ı-'Álí*) r 400 members, which was formed on the emented by a Directory (*Hay at ı Mudíra*) of both the *Sipahdar* and the *Sardar-ı-As'ad* degree" for the new National Assembly were box containing 60,000 gold *tumáns* was dis- t Finance The debts of the ex Sháh to the creditors were estimated at £400,000

llions in N W Persia, headed by Rahim Khan ien, who threaten Ardabil, *Iqbalu's-Saltana* at 'Alı at Zanjan

sed tax on alcohol, opium and salt (known as £300 000 a year Fifteen deputies elected usayn-qulı Khan *Nawwáb*, *Saní u'd-Dawla*, Kashán entitled *Wahídu'l-Mulk*, and Taqı-

rs Alan Wright and James, of the Imperial l by brigands near Kirmán but released on

notorious brigand Rahim Khan was captured ed again by them on Sept 18, *q v*

ral amnesty proclaimed by Persian Govern- als to the Tsar for support The Russian

Legation opposes the dismissal of M Smirnoff, the young Sháh's tutor Fight between Kurds and Russians at Urmiya

Sept 1, 1909 *Amír Bahádur Jang*, *Sa'du'd-Dawla* and *Mushíru's-Saltana* are exiled and excluded from the amnesty. Growing distrust of the *Sipahdár* National volunteers placed under command of Taqí-záda's cousin 'Alí Muḥammad Khán (afterwards assassinated on Aug 2, 1910, *q v*)

Sept 7, 1909 Signature by Persian, Russian and British representatives of the Protocol regulating the ex-Shah's place of banishment, future conduct and pension (finally fixed at 100,000 *túmáns* or £16,666 a year) French expert called in to value Crown Jewels

Sept 9, 1909 Departure of ex Sháh Muhammad 'Alí from Ṭihrán

Sept 13, 1909 The young Sháh holds a *darbár* to celebrate his twelfth birthday The Directory (*Hay'at-i Mudira*) is increased from 20 to 40 members

Sept 15, 1909 Russo-Persian "incident" at Pila suwár (Belyasuvarski)

Sept 18, 1909 Rahím Khán released by the Russians on payment of £1 20 000 and 180 camels

Sept 23, 1909 Motor-car service established between Julfá on the Araxes and Tabríz

Sept 24, 1909 Arrival of the new Russian Minister, M Poklevski Koziell, at Ṭihran

Sept 26, 1909 The *Ẓillu's-Sultán* is allowed to return to Europe on payment of 100,000 *túmáns* (£16 666) and the promise to pay double this sum within four months '*Alá'u's-Salṭana*, formerly Persian Minister in London, is made Foreign Minister

Sept 28, 1909 The ex-Shah reaches Rasht The *Sipahdár* is made Premier

Oct 5, 1909 The ex-Shah reaches Odessa, his place of exile

Oct 16, 1909 One battery and two companies of Russian troops withdrawn from Tabríz Three days later General Znarsky, who was in command of this force, and one thousand Russian troops were stated to have been withdrawn from Tabríz

Oct 19, 1909 Ardabíl threatened by Rahím Khán

Oct 26, 1909 The Persian Government proposes to send an expedition of *100* Persian Cossacks, 300 infantry and *2* guns to Ardabíl

Oct 28, 1909 The *Náṣiru'l-Mulk* (actually the Regent) returns from Europe to Ṭihran

Nov *1*, *1909* Announcement that the Russian force at Qazwín will be reduced to 50 men, and that 450 more will be distributed between Rasht and Anzalí

Nov 2, 1909 Reported fall of Ardabíl Fresh troops sent from Russia

Nov 5, 1909 A second detachment of Russian troops sent to Ardabíl

Nov 7, 1909 Withdrawal of Russian force from Qazwín postponed The *Times* praises the Persian relief-force destined for Ardabíl, on which some £25,000 had been expended and regrets that Russia will not give them the chance of restoring order there by themselves

Nov 9, 1909 Raḥím Khán threatens to march on Tihrán, destroy the Constitution, and restore the ex-Sháh

Nov 15, 1909 Opening of the Second National Assembly under the presidency of the *Mustasharu'd-Dawla*, with the *Mumtázu'd-Dawla* and Sayyid Nasru'llah as Vice-presidents

Nov 16, 1909 Rahim Khan retires from Ardabil Two thousand more Russian troops embark at Baku for Persia

Nov 23, 1909 The Persian Government protests against the high handed action of the Russians at Ardabil

Nov 24, 1909 *'Azudu'l-Mulk* confirmed in Regency M Passek, Russian Consul at Bushire, attacked by brigands near Shiráz The Persian Government apologizes for this occurrence on Dec 1

Nov 26, 1909 *Rashidu'l Mulk* made Governor of Ardabíl

Dec 7, 1909 The Persian Government agrees in principle to a foreign (*i e* Anglo-Russian) loan and to the employment of foreign advisers, but objects to Russian officers in the Gendarmerie

Dec 13, 1909 The Persian Government applies to England and Russia for a loan of £500,000 (See Feb 16, 1910, *infra*)

Dec 31, 1909 The Persian expedition under Yeprem Khan the Armenian obtains a victory over Rahim Khan

1910

Jan 20, 1910 Three more detachments of Russian troops sent to Ahar

Jan 24, 1910 Rahim Khan, hard pressed by the Persian Government troops has no way of escape save into Russian territory On Feb 4 he crosses the Russian frontier unhindered, and on Feb 6 reaches Elizavetpol The Persian Government demands his extradition in conformity with the Treaty of Turkmanchay but its request is ignored by Russia

Jan 27, 1910 *Muwaqqaru's Saltana* is hanged

Feb 4, 1910 *'Alá'u's-Saltana* resigns the position of Foreign Minister

Feb 11, 1910 The people of Varámin, incited by Shaykh Mahmúd, a Russian *protégé*, hoist Russian flags over their houses

Feb 16, 1910 The Russian and British Ministers formally communicate to *Thiqatu'l-Mulk*, the Acting Minister for Foreign Affairs, the conditions demanded by them for a loan of £400,000 These include "privileged rights" in their respective "Spheres of Influence" to

appoint military instructors and build railways (See Dec 13, 1909, *supra*)

Feb 20, 1910 Persian merchants beg their Government not to accept the proposed loan on the conditions indicated above

Feb 28, 1910 Russo-Persian dispute at Langarúd as to the fishery concession (*Shilát*) in the Caspian provinces granted to the Russian Lianosoff (or Lianazoff) in Safar, A H 1324 (= April, 1906), for a period of twenty years Persia has to give way on March 5

March 1, 1910 The *Sipahdár* and *Sardár-i-As'ad* tender their resignation on account of the continued presence of Russian troops on Persian soil (See under April 20, 1910, *infra*)

March 16, 1910 A French expert, M Falconburg, arrives in Ṭihrán to value the Crown Jewels, at a fee of £1000 for 8 days' work, but this period proving insufficient it was afterwards extended Rumours of a French loan to Persia The Persian New Year's Day (*Nawrúz*) was not observed, as a sign of mourning for the continued presence of foreign troops on Persian soil

March 17, 1910 M Bizot, the French financial adviser, left Ṭihrán on three months' leave of absence

March 20, 1910 *Mu'áwinu'd Dawla* is appointed Foreign Minister Sattár Khan and Baqir Khan leave Tabríz under Russian pressure and come to Ṭihrán

March 27, 1910 Some 400 fresh Russian soldiers sent to Tabríz

March 30, 1910 Herr R Said-Ruete, representing the *Deutsche Bank*, in Ṭihrán He left for Berlin on May 17

April 8, 1910 Expiry of Persia's undertaking to Russia (in the Convention of 1900) not to build railways

April 10, 1910 Persia rejects the proposed Anglo-Russian loan on account of the dangerous political conditions attached to it The total value of the Persian Crown Jewels was stated to be £750,000, but this was mere rumour, for the actual estimate of M Falconburg was, I believe, only known to two representatives of Persia, one of whom, Petros Andreassian, the Armenian, was subsequently hanged by the Russians at Tabríz in Jan 1912 The other, from whom I learned these particulars, was one of my oldest Persian friends, who held many high positions in the Government, and whose word I trust implicitly

April 17, 1910 Mr Bill, a member of the Indian Civil Service, who had been acting as British Consul at Shíráz, and who vehemently advocated British occupation of the Southern provinces, was attacked at Yazdikhwast Three days later he reached Iṣfahán safely It subsequently transpired that Mr Bill had taken the initiative in the conflict.

April 20 1910 The *Sipahdár* and *Sardár-i As'ad* consent to resume office (see under March 1, 1910, *supra*) provided the *Sani'u'd Dawla*, "who is not a *persona grata* with the Legislations," is excluded. The Cabinet crisis ends on May 1

May 6, 1910 Death of King Edward the Seventh. Reported

confederation of tribes in South Persia to maintain Persian independence

May 25, 1910 Rumours of a projected German loan to Persia.

May 27, 1910 Violent scene in the National Assembly on account of the suppression of the daily paper *Sharq*

May 29, 1910 Zanján attacked by Dárab Mírzá, a Persian prince who had become naturalized as a Russian subject and held a commission in the Labinsky Cossack regiment at this time occupying Qazwín He obtained leave of absence to go to Russia, but instead rallied round him disaffected persons, obtained for them "letters of protection" (*ta'mín-náma*) signed by the Russian Colonel Rakuza, and with their aid endeavoured to overthrow the Constitutional Government at Zanján The Persian Government send a small force against him commanded by 'Alí Khán, the Russians also sent a force of Cossacks, which, while returning to Qazwin with Dáráb Mirzá, fell in and fought with the Persian force and killed its leader 'Alí Khán The incident was a typical and disgraceful example of Russian intrigue, but both in the Blue Book for this period and in the debate in the House of Commons on July 1, 1910, its real nature (clearly exposed in original documents in my possession) was concealed Internal loan of £5,000,000 authorized by Persian Government Persian women sell their jewels to provide money for the State

June 4, 1910 Kashan captured by the outlaw Na'ib Husayn

June 7, 1910 Persian Government demands full statement of its debts to Russia

June 12, 1910 Sir Charles (now Lord) Hardinge appointed Viceroy of India, and Sir Arthur Nicholson British Ambassador at St Petersburg, appointed to succeed him as Permanent Under Secretary at the British Foreign Office Both appointments warmly approved by Russia, whose approval is reported by the *Times*

June 13, 1910 Announcement that no loan will be made by Germany to Persia Russia objects to the exemption from taxation of silver destined for the Persian Mint

June (middle), 1910 Aggressive actions of the Russians at Tabríz, including arrest of Persian police, invasion of *Thiqatu'l-Islám's* house in search of Russian deserter, and demand for dismissal of *Mukhbiru's-Salṭána* the Governor —Arrival at Ṭihran of Mr W A Moore in connection with the projected Seligmann loan to Persia.

July 1, 1910 Triumphal entry into Ṭihrán of Yeprem Khán and his troops after suppressing the marauding tribesmen who threatened Ardabíl

July 3, 1910 Heated debate in the *Majlis* between Taqí-záda and his party (the Democrats) and the Ecclesiastical party Taqí-záda is "given permission to retire" for three months He left Ṭihrán on July 30

July 4, 1910 *Zahí'u'l Mulk* becomes President of the *Majlis*.

July 15, 1910 Russian bombardment of a Persian village on the Caspian shore near Gyumush-tepé.—Assassination at Ṭihrán of Sayyid 'Abdu'lláh Bahbahání.

July 16, 1910. Attempted boycott of Russian goods by Persians.

July 26, 1910. New Cabinet formed, comprising *Mustawfi'l-Mamálik* (Premier), *Farmán-farmá* (Interior), Husayn-qulí Khán *Nawwáb* (Foreign Affairs), *Qiwámu's-Saltana* (War), *Dabíru'l-Mulk* (Justice), Asadu'lláh Mírzá (Post Office and Telegraphs), and *Hakímu'l-Mulk* (Finance).

Aug. 2, 1910. Assassination by Nawrúzoff, Karím and Mahdí-qulí of 'Alí Muḥammad Khán, a close friend of Taqí-záda's, and Sayyid 'Abdu'r-Razzáq Khán, in retaliation, as it was alleged, for Sayyid 'Abdu'lláh Bahbahání's murder on July 15. (See Aug. 17, *infra*.)

Aug. 3, 1910. State of siege proclaimed in Ṭihrán for three months.

Aug. 4, 1910. National Volunteers (*fidá'ís*) ordered to surrender their arms within 48 hours.

Aug. 5, 1910. Manifesto issued by the *Sipahdár*, *Sardár-i-As'ad*, *Ṣamṣamu's-Saltana*, Sattár Khán and Báqir Khán declaring that they will sink all personal aims and work together for the good of the country. *Fidá'ís* surrendering arms in return for money payments.

Aug. 7, 1910. Severe fighting took place at the Atabak's Park between *Fidá'ís* who refused to surrender their arms and the Government troops. The former were eventually overcome, with a loss of 30 killed and 300 prisoners. *Mu'izzu's-Sultán*, who took so prominent a part in the Rasht insurrection, escaped. Both Sattár Khán and Báqir Khán were wounded. Mediation was attempted by the German Minister, Baron Quadt, and the Turkish Ambassador, but was ineffectual.

Aug. 10, 1910. *Zarghámu's-Saltana* and his Bakhtiyárí followers were disarmed at Sháh 'Abdu'l-'Aẓím.

Aug. 14, 1910. The *Istiqlál-i-Írán* ("Independence of Persia") is the only paper appearing in Ṭihrán since the Coup d'Etat. Two thousand *túmáns* reward (£400) is offered for such information as may lead to the arrest of Sayyid 'Abdu'lláh's murderers. Proposals for a strong army and the appointment of foreign advisers.

Aug. 17, 1910. Russia obliges the Persian Government to surrender to them Nawrúzoff of Nakhjuwán, a Russian subject suspected of having taken part in the assassination of 'Alí Muḥammad Khán. (See Aug. 2, *supra*.)

Aug. 18, 1910. Sir George Barclay returns from leave to Ṭihrán. Pensions are accorded by the Persian Government to Sattár Khán and Báqir Khán.

Aug. 19, 1910. Persian Foreign Minister (Husayn-qulí Khán) makes a fresh appeal to Russia to withdraw her troops from Persia.

Aug. 21, 1910. Russia protests against "Turkish violations of Persian territory."

Aug 25, 1910 Russia demands concessions as the price of the withdrawal of her troops from Persia Even the *Times* (Sept 24, 1910) protests against such a demand (See Oct 25, *infra*)

Sept 6, 1910 The *Majlis* decides to appoint American advisers in preference to French

Sept 12, 1910 Revolt in Mázandarán headed by *Rashídu's-Sultán*, *Amír-i-Mukarram* and Isma'íl Khán (See Oct 12, *infra*)

Sept 18, 1910 The *Farmán-farmá* resigns the Ministry of the Interior

Sept 22, 1910 Death of the Regent, the aged *'Azudu'l-Mulk*

Sept 23, 1910 Mírzá Abu'l Qásim Khán *Násiru'l-Mulk* elected Regent by 40 votes as against 29 votes given to the rival candidate *Mustawfi'l-Mamálik*

Sept 25, 1910 Persian Government troops worsted in an affray with Shahseven tribesmen

Sept 28, 1910 Russian Government proposes to send M Izvolsky, who has ceased to be Minister for Foreign Affairs, as Ambassador to Paris A violent attack on him appeared in the *Novoe Vremya* about Oct 4

Oct 9, 1910 Disturbances in South Persia Yazdikhwast raided by Kuhgaylú tribesmen *'Aynu d-Dawla* nominated Governor of Fárs

Oct 12, 1910 *Rashidu's-Sultan* reported as overcome by Government troops and Ardabil tranquil Private loans to Persian Government obstructed by Russian and British Governments

Oct 15, 1910 Russia prevents the Persian Crown Jewels being pawned, and announces that her troops at Qazwin shall not be withdrawn, but shall go into winter quarters "Restiveness of English banking and commercial circles" at Russia's attitude

Oct 16, 1910 British Note (widely described as "Ultimatum") to Persia on the disturbed condition of South Persia and interruption of the traffic on the Southern roads

Oct 17, 1910 Fighting with Na'ib Husayn at Káshan British "Ultimatum" published at Tihran M Pokhitanoff appointed Russian Consul at Tihrán (He took up his appointment on Dec 27, 1910, the day on which Husayn quli Khán resigned the Ministry of Foreign Affairs)

Oct 18–19, 1910 The British "Ultimatum" arouses so much excitement and indignation in various quarters especially in Germany, Turkey and India, that the British Foreign Office issues a *communiqué* minimizing its importance, while the Government of India disclaims all responsibility for the measures proposed in it

Oct 20, 1910 Turkish alarm at British "Ultimatum," which is described in the Vienna Press as "the *début* of Sir Arthur Nicholson, an energetic and unscrupulous politician" The German papers say that "the meeting between the Tsar and the Kaiser [at Potsdam] will greatly

influence the Persian situation." (See under Nov 5, *infra.*) Concentration of Turkish troops on Persian frontier. Lord Hardinge's farewell speech on the eve of his departure for India.

Oct 22, 1910 Persian reply to British Note presented Persia asks for Italian military instructors (These were refused on Dec 29 On Jan 3, 1911, Sweden consented to lend officers for this purpose.) Treasonable correspondence between Shaykh Maḥmúd of Varámín, in refuge at the Russian Legation, and *Rashídu's Sulṭán*, in rebellion in Mázandarán, intercepted by the Persian Government

Oct 23, 1910 Great protest meeting of Turks and Persians at Constantinople, where Russia and England and their policy towards Persia are violently attacked On Oct 27 Mr FitzMaurice, First Dragoman of the British Embassy at Constantinople, protests to Ṭal'at Bey against the language used on this occasion

Oct 25, 1910 Persia offers the concessions demanded by Russia in return for the immediate withdrawal of her troops from Persian soil (See Aug 25, *supra*)

Oct 28, 1910 Protest of Peace Association in London against the British "Ultimatum" British Consols fall below 80, partly in consequence of the Persian imbroglio

Oct 29, 1910 The Persian Government, having intercepted correspondence between the ex-Shah and the Turkmáns proving that he was inciting them to espouse his cause, proposes to the Legations to stop his pension in accordance with Article 11 of the Protocol of Sept. 7, 1909. The Legations forbid this (apparently without condescending to examine the evidence), and send *ghuláms* to "shadow" Husayn-qulí Khán, the Persian Foreign Minister, until the ex-Sháh's allowance is paid, which is done, under protest, two days later The Persian Minister in London formally protests against this insult to Husayn-qulí Khán (which is feebly defended by Sir Edward Grey) on Nov 4.

Nov 5, 1910 Meeting at Potsdam between the Tsar and the Kaiser The text of the Agreement then arrived at was published in England on Jan 5, 1911 Great disquietude is shown by the French at Russo-German relations, especially *à propos* of Herr von Bethmann-Hollweg's speech of Dec 11 on this subject

Nov 8, 1910 The ex-Sháh, having surreptitiously left Odessa, the place of his banishment, without (as it was pretended) the knowledge of the Russian Government, arrived at Vienna M Sazonoff, the new Russian Minister for Foreign Affairs, returned to St Petersburg from Berlin

Nov 10, 1910. Proposals for Trans-Persian railway mooted

Nov 13, 1910 Resignation of Yeprem Khán Seligmann loan to Persia finally stopped by Russia and England about this date.

Nov 16, 1910. M Poklevski Koziell, the Russian Minister at Ṭihrán, demands a formal apology from Husayn qulí Khán *Nawwáb*, the Persian Minister for Foreign Affairs, for alleged insults offered to Áqá Hasan, the Russian Consular Agent at Káshán.

Nov. 17, 1910 British reply to Persian Note of Oct 22 Five hundred more Russian troops reach Julfá on the Araxes *en route* for Salmás

Nov 22, 1910 Dignified appeal issued by *Mujtahids* of Najaf Protest of Calcutta Persian colony against British Note.

Dec 2, 1910 M Sazonoff made Russian Minister for Foreign Affairs, with M Neratoff as Assistant

Dec 8, 1910 Proposed loan of £1,250,000 at 5 % issued by Imperial Bank of Persia at 87½ opposed by *Majlis*—Sir George Buchanan, the new Ambassador of Great Britain to Russia, reaches St Petersburg

Dec 23, 1910 The ex Sháh at Rome

Dec 27, 1910 Resignation of Husayn-quli Khan *Nawwáb* of the Persian Ministry of Foreign Affairs

Dec 28, 1910 Persian reply to British Note of Nov 17 The All-India Muslim League protests against British policy in Persia The new Regent, *Násiru'l Mulk*, who had been expected in Persia since Oct 19, is still at Vienna and refuses to proceed.

Dec 29, 1910 Italy refuses to lend officers for the training and organization of the Persian Gendarmerie Sweden is approached

1911

Jan 3, 1911 *Muhtashamu's-Saltana* made Minister for Foreign Affairs Sweden consents to lend officers for Gendarmerie.

Jan 6, 1911 The ex-Shah, with *Amír Bahádur Jang*, arrived at Berlin from Brussels, having visited Meran, Rome, Nice, Paris and Vienna, and held consultations and conversations with his exiled partisans in those places.

Jan 12, 1911 Sir Arthur Nicholson is stated to have told the Turkish Ambassador in London that "Turkish policy in Persia was a menace to England"

Jan 16, 1911 *Násiru'l-Mulk*, the Regent, left Vienna for Persia

Jan 17, 1911 Rumoured undertaking of Turkey to help Persia Conciliatory attitude of Persia towards Russia, and talk of withdrawal of Russian troops from Qazwin

Jan 18, 1911 Manifesto of Persian *Mujtahids* at Najaf, and boycott of Russian goods advocated by them

Jan 23, 1911 *Násiru'l-Mulk*, the Regent, reaches Bakú.—Rahim Khán returns to Tabriz from Russia

Jan. 24, 1911 American financial experts promised to Persia.

Jan 29, 1911 *Násiru'l Mulk* reaches Rasht, but is delayed there by a snow storm

Feb. 1, 1911 The *Mu'tamadu's-Khâqán*, Governor of Iṣfahán, and his cousin 'Abdu'r-Raḥím Khan are shot by 'Abbas, an ex-officer of

police, the former being severely wounded, the latter killed. 'Abbás takes refuge with the Russian Consul, M Bogozhavlenski, who refuses to give him up. (See under May 19, *infra*)

Feb 2, 1911 Five American finance experts appointed to serve the Persian Government at salaries ranging from £600 to £2000 a year. (See under May 11, *infra*)

Feb 6, 1911 *Saní'u'd-Dawla*, the Persian Minister of Finance, shot dead by a Georgian named Ivan and two confederates The assassins are arrested after one of them and four of the Persian Police have been wounded in the struggle The Russian Legation demands and obtains the surrender of the assassins, who are Russian subjects Anti-Russian feeling strongly excited (See under May 9, *infra*)

Feb 8, 1911 *Násiru'l-Mulk*, the Regent, arrives in Tihran.

Feb 11, 1911 M Bogozhavlenski, the Russian Consul at Isfahán, is found drowned in a tank in the Consulate garden It was supposed to be a case of suicide

Feb 12, 1911 Russians at Ardabil undertake primitive expedition against Galish tribesmen

Feb 13, 1911 *Násiru'l Mulk*, the Regent, makes a strong speech to the Deputies, demanding their loyal support, which they promise him

Feb 15–22, 1911 Cossacks sack the village of Varmúní near Ástárá and kill some fifty persons, including women and children An additional Russian battalion sent from Bakú, of whom 600 had already reached Ástara

Feb 20, 1911 Assassins of *Saní'u'd-Dawla* condemned by Russian Government to fourteen years' banishment to Siberia

Feb 23, 1911 The *Sipahdar* is entrusted with the formation of a Cabinet Brawl in Tihrán between two parties of armed men, believed to be Russian subjects Two, supposed to be relations of one of *Saní'u'd-Dawla's* assassins, are killed

Feb 28, 1911 'Alí Beg, a young Reactionary who was notorious in connection with the Coup d'État of June 23, 1908, shot himself in the Square Montholon, Paris, in consequence of a quarrel with his mistress.

March 2, 1911 Messrs Kay and Haycock robbed near Isfahán

March 4, 1911 The Regent's address to the Persian Nation on the occasion of his taking the oath

March 8, 1911 New Cabinet formed, consisting of the *Sipahdár* (War), *Muhtashamu's-Saltana* (Foreign Affairs), *Mustasháru'd Dawla* (Interior), *'Ala'u's Sultana* (Education), *Mu'awinu'd-Dawla* (Commerce), *Mumtázu'd-Dawla* (Finance), *Mushíru'd-Dawla* (Justice) — Disarmament of persons not authorized to bear arms by Yeprem Khan.

March 13–15, 1911 Qazwin is evacuated by the bulk of Russian troops stationed there, except 80 Cossacks.

April 6, 1911 British Consulate at Kirmánsháh attacked by robbers.—Debate in *Majlis* on powers demanded by Cabinet.

April 12, 1911 Improved state of Shíráz roads under *Nizámu's Saltana's* government of Fárs

April 17, 1911 Arrest of *Qiwámís* by *Nizámu's-Saltana* at Shiráz (See under May 8, *infra*)

April 24, 1911 Proposed Persian loan of £1,250,000 discussed in *Majlis*, defeated on April 27, finally passed on May 2

April 27, 1911 Proposed British railway from the Persian Gulf to Khurramábád

May 8, 1911 *Násiru'd Dawla*, one of the *Qiwámís*, is murdered

May 9, 1911 Alleged suicide of one of *Sani'u'd-Dawla's* assassins on the Caspian steamer carrying him to Russia

May 11, 1911 Mr W Morgan Shuster and the other American Financial Advisers reach Anzali

May 15, 1911 Mr Kingston, a representative of Messrs Burroughs and Welcome, is robbed near Kashan

May 18, 1911 Hostile demonstrations before the British Consulate at Shiráz

May 19, 1911 'Abbás, the assassin who attempted to kill the *Mu'tamadu-Kháqán* and succeeded in killing his cousin at Isfahan on Feb 1, is found guilty and deported to Russia —The Russian Legation demands the deportation of Amin Rasul zada, the editor of the important Persian daily *Írán-i-Naw*

May 30, 1911 It is proposed in the *Majlis* and unanimously agreed on June 13 to invest Mr W Morgan Shuster, the new American Treasurer-General, with very extensive powers The *Sardár-i-As'ad* leaves Tihran for Europe

June 15, 1911 The *Sipandár* leaves Tihran in a huff, bidding his coachman drive "to Firangistan", but is induced to return on July 4

July 9, 1911 The command of the new Treasury Gendarmerie which it is proposed to organize is offered to Captain C B Stokes, whose appointment as Military Attaché to the British Legation at Tihrán is on the point of expiring Praise of this move by Mr W A Moore, who has now become *Times* correspondent in the Persian capital

July 16, 1911 The ex-Shah's brother *Sálá-u'd Dawla* seizes Hamadán and proclaims the ex Sháh Muhammad 'Ali as king

July 19, 1911 The ex Sháh, accompanied by some of his followers, re appears in Persia, having passed through Russia, as it is alleged, with a false beard and under a false name, unknown to the Russian Government, carrying with him a quantity of arms and ammunition, labelled "Mineral Waters," and accompanied by a Russian officer named Khabayeff, specially attached to him —Russia objects to Captain Stokes's appointment

July 19–21, 1911 The Persian Government takes energetic steps to deal with the ex-Sháh's raid, and protests to the Russian and British Legations at this flagrant violation of the Protocol of Sept 7, 1909.

The Legations reply on Aug. 2 to the effect that it is no concern of theirs, but is a matter affecting Persia only.

July 25, 1911 The *Sipahdár* is removed from the Cabinet, and retires to Zarganda, the village in which is situated the Russian Legation. Mr Morgan Shuster advises the Persian Government as to steps to be taken against the ex-Sháh

July 27, 1911 The Russian Consul at Tabríz, accompanied by 300 Russian troops and Cossacks, forcibly releases *Rashídu'l-Mulk*, the former Governor of Ardabíl, imprisoned on suspicion of treason, from the custody of the Deputy-Governor of Tabríz, and conveys him to the Russian Consulate --Sháhrúd is looted by the ex-Sháh's Turkmán allies.

July 28, 1911 The captain and mate of the Russian steamer *Christophoros* are dismissed from their command for communicating to the Press the fact that the ex Shah crossed the Caspian to Persia in their vessel

July 29, 1911 Russia again protests against Captain Stokes's appointment, which is still warmly supported by M Jean Herbette of *l'Action* and *le Siecle* (who had been in Persia for some months to study the situation) in a series of four telegrams, despatched on July 29 -Aug 4, intended for publication in the British Press[1], but refused by the chief agencies on grounds of political expediency —The *Majlis* voted the acceptance of the contract with Capt C B Stokes by 63 votes out of 72, and decided by 59 votes out of 70 to put a price of 100,000 *túmáns* on the ex-Sháh's head and 25,000 *tumáns* each on the heads of his brothers *Shu'á'u's-Saltana* and *Sáláru'd-Dawla*

July 31, 1911 Russia demands that the Customs' receipts be paid to M Mornard and not to Mr Shuster, between whom an acute conflict arises The French and Italian Legations support Russia, and the German Legation is also said to be opposed to Mr Shuster, who is violently and coarsely attacked by the *Novoe Vremya*, which declares (Aug 4) that, "in the absence of a miracle, the ex Sháh will be at Ṭihran in five days."

Aug 4, 1911 The *Times* says that "neither the British nor the Indian Government has any power to prevent Captain Stokes accepting the appointment" offered him by the Persian Government.--British Note advising the Persian Government not to persist in the appointment. — Alleged agreement between the Russian Government and the ex-Sháh whereby the latter consents, in case of success, to cede to Russia Ázarbáyján and the Persian shore of the Caspian Sea

Aug 9, 1911 The Persia Committee revived in London.

Aug 7-12, 1911 Renewed violent attack by the *Novoe Vremya* on "Stokes and Company," accompanied by expressions of surprise at the "apparent helplessness" of the British Foreign Office

Aug 12, 1911 Defeat of ex Sháh's forces by Bakhtiyárís at Fírúz-kúh and death of *Rashídu'l-Mulk*

[1] Published in the *Manchester Guardian* of Aug 8, 1911.

Aug 21, 1911 The British Foreign Office informs the Persian Legation that Captain Stokes's resignation from the Indian Army will not be accepted

Aug 22, 1911 Defeat of ex Shah's army at Sawád-kúh

Aug 31, 1911 Third victory of Persian Government troops at Damáwand —Yeprem Khán ill —Loyalty of *Ziyá u'l Mulk* and *Amír-i-Mufakhkham* suspected

Sept 5–6, 1911 *Arshadu'd-Dawla*, the ex-Sháh's best and bravest General, is captured and shot

Sept 7, 1911 The ex-Shah takes refuge on a Russian vessel on the Caspian Sea

Sept 11, 1911 Rahim Khán is put to death at Tabríz by order of the *Anjuman* or Provincial Assembly An understanding is arrived at between Mr Shuster and M Mornard

Sept 12, 1911 The ex Shah arrives, a fugitive, at Gyumush tepe with seven of his followers

Sept 18, 1911 Reported destruction of 120 Turkmans forming part of *Arshadu'd-Dawla's* army at Sháhrud

Sept 20, 1911 Seven additional Swedish officers appointed to the Persian Gendarmerie Mr New's appointment as Persian Treasury officer cancelled by the *Majlis* in consequence of the British Government's objection to the appointment of Captain Stokes, but finally ratified at Mr Shuster's request on Oct 4

Sept 22, 1911 Na'ib Husayn occupies Káshán

Sept 25, 1911 *Sáláru'd-Dawla* defeated by Persian Government troops at Sawa, and again two days later at Nawbaran

Sept 27, 1911 Italian Ultimatum to Turkey (It was stated in the *Nation*, with a great show of probability, that Italy was acting in collusion with Russia, Russia's object being to involve the Turks in a war which would prevent them from coming to Persia's aid or opposing the projected Russian invasion of N W Persia)

Oct 3, 1911 Decision of Indian Government to send Indian troops to S Persia

Oct 6, 1911 Hamadan taken by Persian Government troops and *Sáláru'd-Dawla* put to flight

Oct 7, 1911 Conciliatory attitude of Persian Government towards Russia

Oct 9, 1911 The property of the ex-Sháh s brother *Shu'á'u's Saltana* being confiscated by the Persian Government, and Treasury Gendarmes placed in possession by order of Mr Morgan Shuster the Treasurer-General, the Russian Consul M Pokhitanoff sends a superior force of Cossacks to expel them Next day a large force of Gendarmes expels the Cossacks and again takes possession Thereupon M. Pokhitanoff comes there in person, insults the Gendarmes, and does his best to provoke an "incident"

Oct 16, 1911 Ná'ib Husayn expelled from Káshán Miss Ross robbed near Shíráz

Oct 17, 1911 Russia definitely refuses to withdraw her objection to the appointment of Captain Stokes Capture of ex Sháh's diary

Oct 18, 1911 *Times* attacks Mr Shuster in a leader The ex-Sháh reaches 'Ishqábád (Askabad) in Russian territory

Oct 19, 1911 Persian Government protests against the sending of Indian troops to South Persia

Oct 20, 1911 Mr Shuster telegraphs to the *Times* that he is sending a reply to their leader of Oct 18

Oct 22, 1911 Russia objects to the appointment of 20 additional Swedish officers

Oct 23-27, 1911 Italian massacre of 4000 Arabs, including women and children, at Tripoli

Oct 24, 1911 The British Government notifies Persia of the sailing of the Indian troops, of whom the first detachment land at Bushire on Oct 27 On the same day 200 additional Russian troops are landed at Anzalí, and it is stated that 1700 more will follow, while 1900 will advance from Julfá to Tabriz

Oct 29, 1911 The ex-Sháh is reported as having returned from 'Ishqábad to Gyumush tepé

Nov 5, 1911 First Russian Ultimatum, demanding an apology from the Persian Government for alleged insult to the Russian Consul, M Pokhitanoff, on Oct 9 The *Times* of this date censures Pokhitanoff's conduct

Nov 7, 1911 The Swedish Government is reported to have yielded to Russia's objection of Oct 22 to the lending of more Swedish officers to the Persian Government. (But see under Nov 17 *infra*)

Nov 9, 1911 Mr Morgan Shuster's reply of Oct 20 to the *Times* leader of Oct 18 is published in the *Times*

Nov 11, 1911 Captain Stokes is ordered by the British Government to return to India Two more squadrons of Central Indian horse arrive at Bushire

Nov 12, 1911 Russian Note to Persian Government repeating the demand for an apology of Nov 5

Nov 13, 1911 The first two squadrons of Indian troops reach Shíraz

Nov 15, 1911 Lord Curzon's sympathetic and eloquent speech at the Persia Society's Dinner in London —Russian troops are ready to enter Persia

Nov 16, 1911 The Viceroy of the Caucasus is instructed to send 4000 more Russian troops into Persia At Maláyir 3000 Persian Government troops are held in readiness to act against *Sálárw'd-Dawla*

Nov 17, 1911 Seven more Swedish officers are selected for service

in Persia —Violence of the *Novoe Vremya* against Mr Shuster —Violent attack by the *Outlook* (which, having been strongly pro-Russian, executed an amazing *volta face* on Nov 11) on Sir Edward Grey, whom it describes as "the painted lath at the Foreign Office"

Nov 19, 1911 Letter from Mr Shuster in the New York *Sun* denouncing Sir George Barclay's duplicity —Defeat of *Sáláru'd-Dawla*, with loss of 500 men, at Burújird —Russia breaks off diplomatic relations with Persia, who appeals to England for mediation

Nov 20, 1911 Persia is given to understand by the British Minister that if she submits to the Ultimatum the Russian troops will not advance

Nov 23, 1911 The Treasury Gendarmes are withdrawn from the house of *Shu'á'u's-Saltana*, the Persian Foreign Minister goes to the Russian Legation and offers an apology, and Persia thus complies with the terms of the First Russian Ultimatum According to the *Times*, "Sir George Barclay assisted the reconciliation by convincing the Persians that the Russian troops would be withdrawn if an acceptable apology was tendered" The number of Russian troops in Persia is now estimated at 12,000 Russian Note to the Powers *Wuthúqu'd-Dawla*, Foreign Minister, *Ṣamṣamu's-Saltana*, Premier *Mushiru'd Dawla*, Education, *Mu'azidu's Saltana*, Posts and Telegraphs To these were subsequently added *Sardár-i Muhtasham*, War, *Mustasharu s Saltana*, Justice, and *Zaka'u'l-Mulk*, Finance - Three more battalions of Russian troops disembark at Anzali

Nov 25, 1911 High-handed behaviour of Russian Consul at Rasht —Russian Legation accuses Mr Shuster of circulating Persian translation of his letter to the *Times* Mr Shuster (Nov 28) disclaims all responsibility for this

Nov 27, 1911 Debate in Commons and (Nov 28) in Lords on Persian Question The *Novoe Vremya* foreshadows fresh demands on Russia's part

Nov 29, 1911 Second Russian Ultimatum presented to Persian Government

Nov 30, 1911 Second Ultimatum rejected Bazaars closed, great excitement, offers of help to Persia from Armenian *Dashnaktsiyún* Plots against Mr Shuster s life discovered

Dec 1, 1911 Complaints from Tabriz that Russia is openly supporting the Reactionary Samad Khan *Shujá'u d Dawla*. – Russian troops ordered to advance

Dec 2, 1911 Assassination of *'Alá'u'd-Dawla*, who is suspected of intriguing with the *Sipahdár* to effect restoration of ex Shah Anti-Russian demonstrations - *Wuthuqu'd-Dawla* resigns the Ministry for Foreign Affairs —Bakhtiyáris said to have been "squared" by Russia

Dec 3, 1911 Russian troops advancing on Ṭihrán – Yeprem Khán is said to favour armed resistance Popular demonstrations and processions crying "*Marg ya Istiqlál*" ("Death or Independence!"). Mr Shuster releases Captain Stokes from his engagement and cancels the engagements of Messrs Lecoffre, Haycock and Schindler The *Sardár-*

i-As'ad, returning from Europe, lands at Rasht, where the Russians disarm the local militia and seize the telegraph

Dec 4–6, 1911 Telegrams of protest against Russia's action from Mass Meeting at Tabriz, from the President of the *Majlis*, *Mu'tamanu'l-Mulk*, from the Persian women (addressed to the Women's Suffrage Societies), and from the Persia Defence Society, Calcutta. Popular feeling runs high against England, who is considered to have betrayed the Persians —M Sazonoff in Paris —*Wuthúqu'd-Dawla* resumes office (Dec 5) of Minister of Foreign Affairs

Dec 7, 1911 Lord Curzon's eloquent speech on Persia in House of Lords Lord Morley's reply —Russia's aggressions in Mongolia and attempts to obtain from Turkey the opening of the Dardanelles. Dispute between the United States and Russia about status of American Jews and their passports

Dec 11, 1911 Conference of the *Sardár-i-As'ad* with British and Russian Ministers at the British Legation —The *Mujtahids* of Najaf and Karbalá prepare for a *jihád* —Feeling runs high in Ṭihrán —"Russia," according to the *Times*, "regards the existence of the *Majlis* as incompatible with her interests" 4000 Turkish troops reported at Salmás

Dec 12, 1911 Sudden death of Mulla Muḥammad Káẓim, the chief Constitutionalist *Mujtahid* at Najaf, on the eve of his departure for Persia —The *Majlis* still stands firm against acceptance of the Second Russian Ultimatum, and refuses to recognize the new Cabinet (see under Nov 23, *supra*) Russia sends 800 troops and 10 guns to Khúy

Dec 13, 1911 General Gabieff and 4000 Russian troops concentrate at Qazwín

Dec 14, 1911 Boycott of British goods at Shíráz —Resolution of Manchester Chamber of Commerce —Debate in House of Commons.

Dec 17, 1911 Samad Khán *Mumtázu's Salṭana*, the Persian Minister at Paris, said to be working for "a conciliatory settlement of the Russo Persian conflict"

Dec 18, 1911 Sollum in Cyrenaica ceded to England (or nominally to Egypt) by Turkey —The *Majlis* rejects the Cabinet's proposed acceptance of the Second Russian Ultimatum

Dec 20, 1911 The Cabinet refuses to resign

Dec 21, 1911 By a vote of 39 to 19 the *Majlis* agrees to appoint a Commission of five Deputies to deal conjointly with the Cabinet, with the Russian Ultimatum —Fighting between the Russian troops and the Persians breaks out simultaneously at Tabriz, Rasht, and Anzalí —Telegraphic communication with Persia interrupted

Dec 23, 1911 Persia accepts and submits to the Russian Ultimatum Political meetings prohibited in Ṭihrán, and most of the newspapers stopped on Dec 26 Orders sent to the people of Tabríz, Rasht, etc, to stop fighting Mr Shuster is notified of his dismissal. Telegraphic communication with Tabriz interrupted Fresh Russian reinforcements ordered thither

Dec. 24, 1911 Further severe fighting at Tabríz, which is heavily bombarded by the Russians The Russian Consul at Rasht assumes control of the town The *Novoe Vremya* demands "merciless retribution" and "extermination of the *fidá'ís*," and says that "true humanity requires cruelty"—The Regent, on the advice of the Cabinet, dissolves the *Majlis* Telegraphic communication with Persia only possible by Suez, and entirely interrupted between Ṭihrán and Tabríz

Dec 26, 1911 The *Baháristán*, where the National Assembly was wont to sit, is closed and guarded by troops, and the newspapers are suppressed.

Dec. 27, 1911 Attack on a body of Indian troops escorting Mr W A Smart to Shíráz Mr Smart, first reported as killed, was wounded and fell into the hands of the tribesmen, who, on recognizing him, treated him with much kindness and hospitality —The Ṭihrán-Tabríz telegraph worked for a short time to-day

Dec 28, 1911 Amánu'llah Mírza, Acting Governor of Tabríz, pursued by Russian hatred on account of telegrams sent by him denouncing Russian cruelties, takes refuge in the British Consulate —Ṣamad Khán *Shujá'u'd Dawla*, the notorious Reactionary and partisan of the ex Sháh, prepares, with Russian approval, to enter Tabríz and assume governorship —The Bakhtiyari *Amír-i Mujáhid* said to be a candidate for the post of Treasurer General vacated by Mr Shuster

Dec 29, 1911 General clamour in Imperialist Press in Great Britain and India for British expedition to South Persia —The Russian and British Legations support the candidature of M Mornard for the post of Treasurer-General, to the great dissatisfaction of Persian and non-official English elements

Dec 30, 1911 Press Association telegram from Tabríz saying that "had the *fidá'ís* continued to fight a day longer the Russians [*i e* those already in the city before the arrival of their reinforcements] would have been overpowered "—Mr Smart reached Kazarún safely

It is unnecessary to continue this chronology here over the two years (1912 and 1913) which have since elapsed, since this book deals only with events and things belonging to the Four Periods enumerated above, and the second Constitutional Period properly ends with the forcible closure of the *Majlis* on December 24, 1911 The horrors which followed the Russian invasion of Ázarbáyján, especially at Tabríz and inaugurated the gloomy year of 1912 are briefly described in a pamphlet entitled *The Reign of Terror in Tabríz England's Responsibility* which I published in October, 1912, and I am preparing a larger volume containing much fuller details derived from all available sources On January 1, 1912, which coincided with the *'Áshura* or 10th of Muḥarram (the most solemn day of mourning amongst the Shí'a Muḥammadans), A H 1330, the Russians began a whole series of executions of leading citizens and patriots by publicly hanging on a gallows gaily decorated with the Russian colours eight persons, of whom the most notable were the venerable and learned ecclesiastic *Thiqatu'l-Islám*, chief *mujtahid* of Ázarbáyján, *Ziyá'u'l-'Ulamá*, *Ṣádiqu'l-Mulk*,

a young officer, and Shaykh Salím Amongst other notable persons hanged by them were the philanthropist Hájji 'Alí *Dawá-farúsh* ("the Druggist"), the poet Mírzá Aḥmad Suhaylí, and two nephews of Sattár Khan on or about Jan 6, and the much-respected and trusted Armenian Petros Andreassian some days later In most cases the houses of the victims were blown up with dynamite by the Russians, who installed as Governor Samad Khan *Shujá'u'd-Dawla*, with the support of Mr Shipley, the British Consul at Tabriz, and the concurrence of the British Foreign Office This miscreant tortured, killed and extorted money by methods summarily described in the pamphlet above mentioned The executions continued in Tabriz at any rate until August, 1912, and similar deeds were done throughout Ázarbayjan At Rasht the printing-presses were destroyed, the newspapers (some of the best in Persia) were stopped, and a few people were hanged The unprovoked bombardment and plunder by the Russians of the sacred shrine of the Imám Riza at Mashhad on March 29, 1912, on which occasion many innocent people, both inhabitants and pilgrims, were killed, was the culmination of these horrors, and produced an indescribably painful impression throughout the Muslim World

Since the closure of the Second National Assembly at the end of 1911, that is to say for more than two years, rumours have several times arisen that fresh elections were to be held and a new *Majlis* convened These elections are now actually taking place, except in Ázarbayján, and it is probable that this year may witness the inauguration of a Third National Assembly, which, however, welcome as it will be to Persia and her friends, will have to face with diminished strength tasks even more arduous and problems even more difficult than those which confronted its two predecessors For on the one hand many of the most single-minded, able and resolute patriots have been slain or are in exile or in hiding, while full advantage has been taken by Russia during this two years' interregnum (when Persian Cabinet Ministers have hardly been able to hold office much less act, without the sanction of the Russian and British Legations) to extort concessions of the most far-reaching character as to the making of railways, the exploitation of minerals and fisheries, and other matters, and to saddle the unhappy country with fresh burdens of debt at usurious rates of interest

Bad as the situation is, however, it is impossible to deny that it might have been worse, Tihrán has not been occupied by the Russians nor been the scene of horrors such as those perpetrated at Tabríz, the Royal Pretenders Muhammad 'Alí, *Shu'á'u's-Saltana* and *Sáláru'd-Dawla* have for the present ceased to trouble, and have disappeared, it may be hoped for ever, from the political horizon, and the work effected by the new Gendarmerie under the Swedish officers in suppressing brigandage and securing the safety of the roads deserves the fullest recognition and the highest praise For so much salvage from the general wreck we must be thankful, and for the fact that, however dark the horizon and ominous the outlook, Persia, in name at least, still remains an independent and undivided country

INDEX

This Index comprises names mentioned in the Translator's Preface, the Author's Introduction, and the text of the Persian poems contained in Part II, as well as those occurring in the translated portion (Part I) of the book. The prefix *Abú* ("Father of —"), when it occurs in proper names, is sometimes ignored in the alphabetical arrangement, so that, for example, *Abu'z Ẓiyá* may be found either under *Z*, or *A*. Titles, as opposed to names, of persons, as well as titles of books and newspapers, are printed in *italics*. The abbreviation *n* after the number of a page indicates a foot note; thus "17 n" means "p. 17, *ad calc.*," while "17 and n" means that the name in question is mentioned on p. 17 and also in a foot note on that page.

ثلثه مستشرقین و متتبعین ادبیات فارسی‌را جلب نموده و ملت ایران‌را بر از صمیم قلب تهنیت میگویم که چنین نوعروس بکر معرفت‌را بمنصهٔ ظهور جلوه آورده است و از خداوند خواهانم که امثال ایشان‌را بیفزاید

در اینجا لازم می بینم که تأسفات خودرا از اینکه نتوانستم همهٔ آثار و منظومات شعرای این دور اخیررا جمع آوری کنم اظهار بدارم و همچنین فریضهٔ ذمهٔ خود میدانم که تشکرات صمیمی خودرا بدوستان دور و نزدیک که در جمع و ارسال این اشعار معاونت و بذل همت کرده اند تقدیم نمایم و از ادبا و شعرا و معارف خواهان و منتسبین ادبیات فارسی تمنی مینمایم که هرچه از اشعار وطنی و سیاسی و تاریخی و غزلیات و غیرها تا کنون بنظم آورده‌اند یا شنیده اند اگر برای ایشان زحمت نیست مرحمت فرموده آنهارا بعنوان مخلص بفرستند تا شاید جلد دومی ازین دوره ادبیات جدیده مرتب ساخته برسم ارمغان بنظر مطالعهٔ طالبان علم و ادب برسانم چه این کاررا برای خود افتخار و شرف بزرگ میدانم عنوان این جانب از قرار ذیل است

ادوارد براون معلم السنه شرقیه در دار الفنون کیمبریج (انگلستان)

فی غرّهٔ ربیع الاوّل سنه ۱۳۳۲

EDWARD G BROWNE,
Pembroke College, Cambridge, England

January 29, 1914

از فواید کثیرۀ این انقلاب سیاسی همین ...
یکی بوجود آورده است که در سایه آن یك خا...
پر امید ظهور خواهد یافت

ثانیاً از حیث اسلوب نیز این ادبیات حد...
مخصوص دارد و آن این است که در اغلب ...
جدید سروده اند حقیقت‌را برای اینکه همه کس ...
لباس هزل و مزاح جلوه داده اند و با یکی ...
آهنگ ساخته اند تا بآسانی قبول عامه بهم رساند

بدیهی است که شخص هر قدر دارای اخلاق ...
باز وی‌را شنیدن عیوب خود بی پرده جدان ...
حقیقت‌گوئی در وی تأثیری جداً نخواهد کرد ولی
آنرا بمیل و رغبت خواهد خواند و البته بی تأثیر ...

شعرای این دوره که این اسلوب مرغوب‌را ...
طبیب حاذقی می باشند که مزاج مریض خودرا ...
ادویۀ تلخ‌را با شیرینی آمیخته بمریض میخورانند و با
ادراك مستمع‌را درك کرده بقدر فهم او سادگی ...
می نمایند و عامۀ ملت خوانده و بحقیقت مسائل ...
واقف شوند چنانکه غزلیات و قصائد عارف و اشرف...
علی اکبر خان دهخدا) و ملك الشعراء بهار و غیره
مرغوب از قراری که می نویسند امروز در نزد خاص...
و در محافل میخوانند و با آلات موسیقی می نوازند

این جانب بترتیب این نمونۀ مختصر از ادبیات ...

همانا امواجی است که از قعر دریا و از طبقات پائین آب بالا می‌آید همین طور است در انقلامات سیاسی/انقلابی که ثمرهٔ خوب میدهد انقلابی است که در سایهٔ جنبش طبقهٔ عامّهٔ ملّت بظهور رسد و الّا انقلابی خواهد بود نا ترس و نا هنگام و سطحی که مانند امواج سطحی دریا هرگز آن قوّت‌را نخواهد داشت که بنای استبداد و خرافات متراکمهٔ چندین قرن‌را از بیخ بر اندازد

ازین رو طبقهٔ عامّهٔ ملّت بیشتر از طبقات دیگر باید منظور نظر ارباب سخن و واعظین و مخصوصاً شعرا و ادبا باشند و من چنین تصوّر میکنم که در عالم ملّتی نیست که بقدر ملّت ایران مجذوب شعر باشد/و شعر در طبیعت ایرانی حادثهٔ مخصوصی دارد که کمتر نظیر آن در سایر اقوام دیده شده است از این نقطهٔ نظر شعرائی که اصلاح حال طبقهٔ عامّهٔ ملت‌را در نظر دارند مرجّح بر دیگران می باشند و میان ایشان و سائرین که جز مدح و اخذ صله هنری دیگر ندارند همان فرق است که میان زاهد خود پرست و عالم دانش پرور چنانکه شیخ سعدی علیه الرحمة می فرماید

گفتم میان عالم و عابد چه فرق بود تا اختیار کردی از آن این فریق‌را
گفت آن گلیم خویش بدر می برد ز موج وین جهد می کند که بگیرد غریق‌را

و ما می بینیم که ادبا و شعرای عصر حاضر پی بدین نکته برده‌اند یعنی افکار معانی‌را از آن دائرهٔ محدوده بیرون آورده و خوان الوان نظم‌را پیش خاصّ و عامّ گسترده طبقهٔ عامّه‌را از آن برخوردار کرده‌اند و اغلب موضوعات این ادبیّات‌را از وقایع یومیّه و راجع بمسائل معاشی و اجتماعی گرفته اند که هر یك از افراد ملّت میتواند بدون صعوبت درك نماید و اگر همین اشعاررا که از ابتدای انقلاب ایران تا امروز انشاد شده جمع آوری کنند تقریباً تاریخ منظوم انقلاب‌را تشکیل خواهد داد

از بحری بحران معدوریند؛ دوقی است دربن باده که مستان دانند؛ اینك نمونهٔ از ادبیّات وطنی و سیاسی‌را که آنرا ثمرهٔ انقلاب اخیر ایران باید شمرد برای اثبات عقیدهٔ خود نظر ارباب تتبّع می رسانم تا همچون مشکی که بخودی خود ببوید آنچه‌را که من هنوز نگفته در دل دارم بزبان خود بگوید

این نمونهٔ ادبیّات جدیده بخوبی ثابت می کند که روح شعر و طبع سخن پروری در ایران معدوم نشده سهل است که بواسطهٔ سوق این انقلاب اخیر روبی تازهٔ یافته و تأثیر بزرگی در آتیهٔ این ملّت بظهور خواهد آورد؛

اگر درست دقّت کنیم خواهیم دید که این اشعار جدیده دارای دو صفت ممتاره است که در ادبیات قدیمه موجود نبوده و بهمان نسبت شاید تأثیراتش در طبقهٔ عامّه بیشتر باشد

اوّلاً از حیث موضوع موضوع اشعار قدما تقریبًا عبارت بود از مدایح پادشاهان و بزرگان و غزلیّات و اخلاق و فلسفه و تصوّف؛ و آنچه راجع باوضاع و احوال معاشیّه برشتهٔ نظم در آورده‌اند نسبةً کم است اگرچه همین ادبیّات مدار افتخار ابدی ایران بوده و زبان فارسی‌را تا امروز نگاه داشته است ولی از جهت تأثیر خارجی در اوضاع اجتماعی مردم گویا چندان ثمر نداده است زیرا که دائرهٔ انتشار آن محدود و تقریبًا منحصر بطبقهٔ عالیه و عالمهٔ ملّت بوده و فوایدش تعمیم نداشته است

تجارب تاریخی و جریان اوضاع اجتماعی ملل دربن قرون اخیره بخوبی نشان میدهد که موثّر حقیقی در گردانیدن چرخ حیات اجتماعی یك ملّت عامّه یعنی طبقات اواسط و ادانی آن ملّت است و چنانکه امواجی که روی دریارا متلاطم آورده و بزرگترین کشتیهارا بازیچهٔ طوفان خود میسازد

تمنّای مخصوص از قارئین ایرانی

مقصود اصلی از جمع و نشر این اشعار آن است که برای برخی از متتبّعین ادبیات ایران که اغلب منکر وجود روح ادبی در ایران کنونی بوده و وجود شعر و شاعری را در این قرون اخیره در آن سر زمین معدوم می پندارند ثابت نمائیم که آن طبع گهربار ایرانی که اشعار آبدار قدیمه را بوجود آورده نمرده است

هنوز گویندگان هستند اندر عراق   که قوّت ناطقه مدد از ایشان برد

بلکه از زیر آن همه ابرهای تاریک که صفحات این مملکت را فرا گرفته باز آن روح فنا ناپذیر مانند آفتابی که زیر ابر نهفته پس از حدی با یک پرتو عالمفروزی دیگر جلوه‌گر گشته است

اغلب مستشرقین که زحمت تتبّع ادبیات جدیدهٔ ایران را بخود نداده‌اند چنین تصوّر می کنند که طوطی شکرگفتار طبع شعرا و ادبای اعصار گذشتهٔ ایران از نطق فرو مانده و چندین قرن است که درین چمن خزان دیده بلبلی نترنّم نیامده و شاید هم هیچ نخواهد آمد ولی این جانب که از سی و سه سال بدین طرف عمر خودرا صرف تحصیل این زبان کرده و بواسطهٔ کثرت معاشرت با آقایان ایرانی تا اندازهٔ با اشعار و ادبیات جدیده مربوط شده و چاشنی آنرا چشیده با این عقیده اشتراك ندارم و قبول آنرا دور از انصاف و حقیقت میدانم و کسانیرا که بر حسب عدم اطّلاع چنین عقیده اظهار میدارند معذور میدارم و عدم الوجدان لیس دلیلًا علی عدم الوجود را متذکرم

(بیت)

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8. **Some Notes on the Literature and Doctrines of the Hurúfi Sect** (*J R A S*, Vol XXX, 1898)

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10. **Yet More Light on 'Umar-i-Khayyám** (*J R A S*, Vol XXXI, 1899)

11. **The Chahár Maqála** ("Four Discourses") of **Nidhámí-i-'Arúḍí-i-Samarqandí**, translated into English (*J R A S* Vol XXXI, 1899) Price 3s paper covers, 4s cloth

12. **Some Account of the Niháyatu'l-irab fí akhbári'l-Furs wa'l-'Arab**, particularly of that part which treats of the Persian Kings (*J R A S* Vol XXXII, 1900)

13. **Biographies of Persian Poets** contained in Ch v, § 6, of the *Táríkh-i-Guzída*, or 'Select History' of Hamdu'lláh Mustawfí of Qazwín (*J R A S*, Vols XXXII–XXXIII, 1900–1901)

14. **Account of a rare manuscript History of Iṣfahán**, presented to the Royal Asiatic Society on May 19 1827, by Sir John Malcolm (*J R A S*, Vol XXXIII, 1901)

15. **Account of a rare manuscript History of the Seljúqs in the Schefer Collection of MSS in the Bibliothèque Nationale at Paris.** (*J R A S.*, Vol XXXIV, 1902)